

THE WALPOLE SOCIETY

1913 - 1914

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December 19

THE THIRD ANNUAL VOLUME
OF
THE WALPOLE SOCIETY



Engraved by W. Walker

*Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Blackfriars, June 16. 1600
from the painting by Marcus Gheeraerts in the collection of the Earl of Melbury*

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THE
THIRD ANNUAL VOLUME
OF THE
WALPOLE SOCIETY

1913-1914

EDITED BY

A. J. FINBERG

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'This country, which does not always err in vaunting its own productions.'

HORACE WALPOLE'S *Anecdotes of Painting in England*.

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The Committee of the Walpole Society desire to express their grateful thanks to the owners of the various paintings and other works of art reproduced in this volume for the generous assistance they have given the Society.

The Frontispiece and Plates XXXV (b) and XXXVIII A. are from photographs taken by Mr. Emery Walker.

MARCUS GHEERAERTS, FATHER AND SON, PAINTERS

BY RACHAEL POOLE.

MARCUS GHEERAERTS, the elder, stands in the history of art in England as the centre figure of a group of artists, refugees on account of their religion, from France and the Spanish Netherlands. The son of one Egbert Gheeraerts, a master painter in the guild of St. Luke at Bruges in 1516, Marcus was born about 1525,¹ and in his turn was admitted to the painters' guild, appearing as second *vinder* or member of Council in 1558. Van Mander, who as a contemporary is not likely to have confused the activities of the two Gheeraerts, credits the elder with being 'habile dans tous les genres, la figure, le paysage, l'architecture, la composition . . . bref tout ce qui relève de l'art'. Some known definite works belong to this period. In 1559 he drew a series of bears, afterwards etched and published by Marc de Byc. In 1562 he made a bird's-eye map of Bruges,² and in 1567 he published at his own cost an illustrated edition of Æsop's Fables, *De warachtighe Fabulen der Dieren* with an introductory poem by Lucas d'Heere. A triptych of the Descent from the Cross in the church of the Recollets at Bruges is said to be signed with his initials and dated 1563.³ More important is the work he undertook between 1561 and 1565 in the decoration of the church of Our Lady in his native town, beginning with the completion of the altar-piece of the Passion left unfinished by Bernard van Orley.

In the archives of the church is a certified copy,⁴ made in 1665, of the accounts

¹ According to a statement drawn by Delbecq from a lost MS. of Lucas d'Heere, so quoted by Mr. Cust in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the date should be 1510, which seems too early in relation to the birth of his son, and his appearance in his guild. M. Hymans, in his edition of Carel van Mander, urges that the year should be about 1530.

² A section is reproduced in W. H. J. Weale's *Notes sur Jean van Eyck*.

³ Cf. M. Hymans's edition of van Mander; the statement is repeated from Mols, who is said to have made a note in a copy of Walpole's *Anecdotes*, now in the Library at Brussels.

⁴ Littera F., no. 178, printed by J. Gaillard in his *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre occidentale, Bruges*, I. ii, p. 20. It seems likely that the copyist of 1665, whom I have followed exactly, made some errors. The original is said to be in the *Chambre des Comptes* at Lille.

2 MARCUS GHEERAERTS, FATHER AND SON

for this, for work on the tombs of Charles the Bold¹ and Mary of Burgundy, and for some paintings, all done by him.

A m^e marcq Gheeraerts painctre de son styl, lequel a par contraict avecq luy faict emprins de parfaire et achever la grande table dautel, que feu m^r Bernart Van Orley auoit commence et pointct parfaict . . . la grande table d'autel qu'est pour le pnt au cueur de nre dame a bruges, et ce pour la some de xxxviii L de gros avecq les conditions contenues aud^t contraict en date du xvj^e de Juillet xv^e soixante ung p. quitan. ij^e xxviii L tourn.

[In the margin.] Selon la convention faicte par Jehan perez et pierre aerts compteurs et ordonn deuant rendue et quatre quitan cyrendue.

Aud. m^e marcq a cause d'auoir painct la figure de nre redempteur Jesu Christ avec sa passion qu'on pendt en quaresme deuant le grand autel en lad. esglise par marchie faict avecq lui, par quitan la somme de iiij^{xx} (90) L. tourn.

[In the margin.] Selon laduis des commiss^{es} aggregation et ordon desd. des finan cy deuant rendue et quictn cy rendues.

A luy a cause de la gratuite q. messeig^{rs} les commissaires et messeig^{rs} des finances luy ont accorde pour lad^e figure par ordonnance du viij^e de nouembre soixante trois et par quittance la somme de xviii L. tourn.

Aud. m. Marcq a cause d'auoir painct trois tableaux pour seruir au grant autel de nostre dame deuant les ymaiges dargent dont l'une est de l'annunciation de nre dame lautre de la resurrection de nre Seigneur, et le troisieme la nativite de Jesu Crist, par marchie faict avecq luy et par quittance la somme de xxx L. tourn.

[In the margin.] Par affirmation des compteurs et quitan rendue chūn article estant p^sent a l'audition de ce compte, le comis. Damboudere qui a declare q ces parties on este payees de son sceu.

Aud. m^e Marcq a cause d'auoir painct les deux custodes de deux tumbes aud^t cueur de nre dame avecq les armes pour cseruaion (*sic*) de deux personnaiges par quitan la somme de iiij^{xx} iiij (84) L tourn.

Aud. m^e marcq a cause de paindre les deux epitaphes avecq les diuises du duc Charles et madame marie aux deux clotures des deux costez des deux tumbes, et paindre aussy tous le chiraet desd deux clotures comme louurage et led. chyrae trequiert, aussi de paindre la grande cloture de fer qu'est mise deuant le grant autel aud^t grant ceur de nre dame de diuerses couleurs tout ainsi que lesd. ouuraiges requierent et plus amplement, est specie ou contraict sur le faict en presence de mons^r le commis Damhouder en date du iiij de mars xv^e soixante cinq par quittance la somme de ciiij^{xx} (180) li tourn.²

It will be noticed that of all these separate pieces of work, the pictures, the painted iron-work, and the decoration of the tomb, it is the latter which was most highly paid. It consists in a number of coats of arms linked by scrolls held up between each shield by tiny female figures³ with foliage between. The whole bears a general resemblance to other designs, initial letters, patterns for goldsmith's work or other ornaments which are engraved after Marcus Gheeraerts.

¹ The four sides of these tombs are figured by M. Gaillard.

² The livre tournois was as nearly as possible of the value of a franc now.

³ The figures on the tomb of Mary are winged, and immensely better, freer, and more graceful than those on the tomb of Charles the Bold, which is said to be a copy of the earlier one. It is clear, however, that Gheeraerts was paid for some work on both.

MARCUS GHEERAERTS, FATHER AND SON 3

In 1568 Marcus Gheeraerts appears in London. In the Return of Aliens for that year we find him established in the parish of St. Mary, Abchurch.

Markus Gerott of Bridgis, painter, Ducheman, came for relygyon; Phillippus de la Valla, his seruant; Markus Gerott, his sonne; all theas goe to the Douche church. Dutche persons iij.—*Huguenot Soc., Return of Aliens*, iii, p. 395.

Colemanstrete Warde

1571, May. Markes Garret Douche borne, a paynter, in England thre yeres; hathe two children, Marke and Easter; his servaunt Hawns Delavauld. Douche 4. (*Ibid.* i. 479.)

Gheeraerts was probably a widower when he came to England. In the autumn of 1571 he took a second wife, Susanna de Critz, and was thus brought into connexion with another family of artists. In the Registers of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars¹ we find:

1571, 9 Sept. Marcus Geraerts v. Brugghe met Susanna de Crits v. Antwerpen.

Return of Aliens in Colemanstrete Ward, St. Stephen's Parishe

1571, Nov. Markes Garret, and Susan his wief, Marke there sonne, and Hester there daughter; he was borne at Bridges in Flaunders, in this realm iij^{or} yeares at Marche last; he came for religion: he ys a howseholder, a picture maker, no denizon, and of the Frenche church. Douche 4. Frenche Church. (*Return of Aliens*, ii. 80.)

1576, July. Among those paying subsidy in the parish of St. Dionis Backchurche,
 Marcus Garrett iij li vi s.
 Marcus Garrett, his sonne [in the same house] per pole iij d.
(*Ibid.* ii. 168.)

Three children of this marriage were born in London and were all baptized at the Dutch Church:

1573, 13 September: Rachel—of whom no record appears to have survived.

1575, 12 May. Sara—who married Isaac Oliver the miniature painter in 1602. (*Registers of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars*, p. 125.) Their only son was Peter Oliver, who inherited his father's gift. Sara died before 1608. Isaac married again an Elizabeth, mentioned in his will, and their son James was born in January 1609.²

1576, 8 November. Tobias—of whom no record appears to have survived.

One of the two Gheeraerts, and almost certainly the father, drew in 1576 for St. George's Day, 1578,³ 'the Proceeding of the Sovereigne and knights companions at the Feast of St. George in the 20 yeare of Queene Elizabeth'. In

¹ Edited and printed by W. J. C. Moens, 1884.

² *Registers of the French Church, Hug. Soc.*, ii.

³ The original etching in the British Museum has the date 1576, which has been corrected with a pen to 1578. It was afterwards engraved by Hollar on a reduced scale, and is to be found in Ashmole's *History of the Order of the Garter*. This version alone bears Gheeraerts's name. The original, which appears to be unfinished, has the name of Thomas Dawes, who as Rougecroix Pursuivant was probably officially responsible for it. See S. Colvin, *Early Engraving and Engravers in England*, pp. 36-7.

1577 either the father or the younger Mark was received master painter in the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp. The name appears 'Marcus Geeraert, Schilder'.¹ In a list of those who contributed to the expenses of the Guild between Sept. 26, 1585, and Sept. 30, 1586, the father's name occurs as 'Marcus Geraerts (de oude schilder'.² These two entries have been taken to refer to the same man, but it is quite possible that they are intentionally differentiated. It is just possible that the younger Gheeraerts may have completed his training in the Netherlands. But against this suggestion it must be remembered that his age in 1577 was only sixteen, which seems young to be admitted a master painter; and that in 1617 he returns the length of his sojourn in England as forty-nine years. After the payment of the subsidy in 1576 by both the Gheeraerts, there is no evidence of either being in London till 1590, unless it is to be found upon pictures signed by them; their names do not occur in the Returns, though these are printed for nearly every one of the intervening years. Indeed the elder painter is not again mentioned in English documents at all. Probably to this period of his life—1579-89—belongs much of the work ascribed to him, and engraved by Joannes Sadeler, W. Vaillant, and others, small scenes from the Passion, the story of the Prodigal Son, tiny landscapes in richly ornamented borders, mythological subjects, initial letters,³ and so forth; perhaps, too, a Decollation of St. John the Baptist mentioned by Vertue,⁴ which appears to be signed, and some at least of the interiors and landscapes with figures of which an interesting list is given in Rathgeber's *Annalen*.⁵ No portraits can with any certainty be assigned to him. Van Mander tells that Gheeraerts returned to England before his death, and that his son refused to furnish any particulars as to his last years. It is probable that he died before Oct. 1599, when a Susan Garrett, perhaps his widow, living alone in Lymestreet Ward, paid the subsidy required of aliens in London.⁶ She survived till 1636, and must be the 'Aunt Garrett' remembered by Henry Wheler in his will dated Nov. 14 of that year, since the wife of the younger Mark was already dead when his will was proved in January 1635/6.⁷ Neither the elder Gheeraerts nor his widow appears to have left a will, at least in England.

Three children of this couple have been mentioned. A daughter of Gheeraerts by his first wife appears, as we have seen, several times in the Returns of Aliens and in the Registers of the Reformed Churches in London.

¹ *Les Liggeren et autres archives historiques de la Gilde Anversoise de Sint Luc*, ed. Rombouts & van Lierus, i. 263.

² *Ibid.* i. 302. The contribution of twenty members was five gulden, approximately 5*d.* each. Half this sum was for lighting.

³ The *doyen* of the Guild of the Violet, called the Painters' Guild, presumably a branch affiliated to the great Guild of St. Luke, in 1585-6, was Philip Galle, whose name appears as the engraver on some of these designs.

⁴ Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 23070, f. 26.

⁵ p. 391.

⁶ *Return of Aliens*, iii. 44.

⁷ See for references to the Wheler wills, *Walpole Society*, vol. ii, pp. 52, 67.

She married first on June 4, 1592, as 'Hester Gheerarts v. Brugge', Jan Trampzo of Rochester.¹ Fifteen years later we find Esther Geerart, widow of Jan Tijts, marrying Henry Archer of Huntingdonshire. That this is the same woman is suggested by another entry where Hester Garette, wife of Henry Archer, is a witness in 1609 with Emanuel van Meteren, the historian, at the baptism of a child of Maximilian and Susan Poutrain.² And we must conclude either that there was another marriage between the two recorded, or else that Jan Tijts and Jan Trampzo are the same man.

Susan Poutrain here referred to was also by birth a Gheeraerts. Her marriage with the sculptor of the tomb of Queen Elizabeth took place at the Dutch Church on Jan. 31, 1603/4: 'Maximilien Poictrin v. Utrecht met Susanna Geeraerts v. Antwerpen'.³ Her birth is not chronicled; but it appears probable that she was a last child of the elder Gheeraerts and his wife Susanna de Critz, born after their return to Antwerp, in 1578 or 1579.⁴ Her parentage is of interest in view of the close relationship binding together this group of artistic craftsmen, Gheeraerts, de Critz, Poutrain or Colte, and the Olivers. Mark Gheeraerts does not appear to be at all nearly connected with Martin Gheeraerts, a prosperous goldsmith and contemporary.⁵ A certain Matthew Garrett, however, was probably his brother, and a marriage between this Matthew⁶ with Elizabeth⁷ Wheler links the painters with an English family who were traders and merchants both in London and the Low Countries of established position and considerable wealth. Nicholas Wheler, the nephew of this Elizabeth—if this presumption is correct—makes bequests in his will, dated January 1618/9, 'to my uncle Matthew Garret, Aunt Marckus and cousin Coulte, and to godson Mark Garrett': who are, probably, the widow of the elder Mark Gheeraerts, her daughter Susan Poutrain or Colte, and the son of Mark Gheeraerts the younger, born in 1602. 'My uncle Mr. Marckus Garrett, Painter' is named executor.

The evidence for the date of the birth of Marcus Gheeraerts the younger is

¹ *Registers of the Dutch Church*, pp. 106, 138, 89.

² Huguenot Soc., *Registers of the French Church in Threadneedle Street*, ed. Moens, i. 74. The name is misprinted Goutrain.

³ *Registers of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars*, p. 128.

⁴ She cannot be a daughter of the younger Mark. Martin Gheeraerts had two daughters named Susan; but the elder, b. 1590, must have died early, since her sister, b. 1595, received the same name, and she was a child still in 1604.

⁵ I have examined the wills of Martin Gheeraerts, 1596, and of his son, also Martin, 1636, without finding a mention of a single member of Mark Gheeraerts's family.

⁶ The connexion between the Wheelers and the de Critzes was dealt with in a paper in the second volume of the Walpole Society, p. 52.

⁷ Matthew Garrett and Elizabeth, his wife, were living in the parish of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in 1599. Elizabeth appears to be the sister of one Henry Wheler of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, in whose will, dated 1564/5, such a person is mentioned.

6 MARCUS GHEERAERTS, FATHER AND SON

to be found on the print by Hollar of Gheeraerts's portrait of himself. The inscription runs: MARCUS GARRARDUS PICTOR, *Illustrissimis & Serenissimis Principibus Beatae memoriae Elizabethae & Annae etc magnae Britanniae Franciae & Hiberniae Reginis Servus, & Praestantissimo Artifici* Marco Garrardo Brugensis Flandriae *filius, ubi natus erat. Obijt Londini January 19: Anno Domini 1635. Aetatisq. suae 74. hic ipse Marcus depinxit A° 1627. Wenceslaus Hollar Bohē, fecit Londi 1644 acqua forti.*

Hollar did not know Gheeraerts, who died in the beginning of the year in which he arrived in London. But he probably got his information from the painter's son, and his facts may be accepted. The younger Mark was therefore born in Bruges in 1561 or 1562, and came to London in 1568 old enough to attend the Dutch church with his father.¹ It has been said that he was a pupil of Lucas d'Heere, and this is very probable, since in 1571 the young brother of his stepmother, John de Critz, was also a servant or apprentice at d'Heere's, who had already recommended the elder Gheeraerts's work to the public. If the younger Mark went to Antwerp to be received into the painters' guild there in 1577, it is unlikely that he remained long out of England, but he does not seem to have lived permanently in London again until 1590. In May of that year he married Magdalena de Critz, the daughter of Troylus and Sara de Critz of Antwerp, and sister of his father's second wife, and of the future Sergeant Painter, John de Critz. Six children were born of this marriage between the years 1591 and 1611, but two only apparently survived—Mark, born in 1602, and Henry, born in 1604, both of whom were living in 1650.²

The following extracts from the Returns of Aliens outline the career of this painter :

1593 Marks Garratt, housekeeper ; borne in Bruges in Flanders : Maudlyn his wife borne in Andwarpe in Brabonde ; a Payntor ; one daughter ;—quoted from a Dugdale MS. *Return of Aliens*, iii, p. 444.

Loodberry

1594 Marcus Gerard and his wife (Ibid. ii. 470.)

1595 Marcus Geeraert contributes eight shillings to the 'Students Fund' among those who engaged to subscribe annually for the support and education of selected students of their Congregation at Cambridge University or elsewhere. (Ibid. ii. 212.)

Christ Church parish

Lay Subsidy

1599 Marcus Garrett xls, xs viij d. (Ibid. iii. 50.)

1617 Among Painters within the City.
Marcus Geerard van Brugge, 2 children, resident here 49 years (Ibid. iii. 160.)

¹ See the *Return of Aliens* quoted on p. 3.

² They are mentioned in the will of Anne, wife of Mark, previously the widow of Francis Harrison, dated Dec. 24, 1650, and in the will of Henry Wheler as 'my cousins, Mark and Harry Garrett', November 14, 1636. [P. C. C. 47 Harvey.]

Warwick Lane in the City

1617 Marcus Geerard, her Majesties painter, Magdalen his wyfe, two children born here,
dwelt here 49 yeares (Ibid. iii. 174.)

Faringdon Within

1618 Marcus Garret, borne at Bridges, in Flaunders, and noe free denizen, picture
drawer to his Majesty, professing the Apostolick faith taught & held by the Church
of England dependeing uppon our soveraigne Lord King James. (Ibid. iii. 205.)

Denization

1618. Feb 26 Marcus Gheeradts born in Flanders to him & to his heirs
Hug. Soc. Denizations, ii. 24.

The two returns quoted here where Gheeraerts names himself painter to the King and Queen, together with Hollar's inscription, are the only evidence available for the statement that he was in the royal service. In the absence of all warrants or payments the point must be regarded as very doubtful. It is certain that neither he nor his father was Sergeant Painter. This appears to have been a single post, for which, under Elizabeth, there was a fixed yearly fee of £100.¹ It was held during the sojourn of the Gheeraerts in England by William Heron, appointed 1572, George Gower, 1581, Leonard Fryer², 1598, and John de Critz, father and son, with Fryer and Robert Peake till 1649. Two curious documents concerning the office in the first reign are known. One is a draft proclamation assigned to the year 1563, to forbid all painters and gravers from drawing the picture of the Queen, till some cunning person meet therefor shall make a natural representation of her Majesty's person as a pattern for other persons to copy.³ The other is a licence granted to

'our welbeloved subjecte George Gower our Sargeant Paynter . . . we do give & graunte . . the full sole & lawfull priviledge . . that he shall by himself his deputy & deputies assignee & assignees only, & none other . . from henceforth . . make or cause to be made all & all maner of purtraictes & pictures of our person . . in oyle cullers upon bourdes or canvas or to grave the same on copper . . [for his life we appoint] George Gower our officer, maker, paynter, . . & doe strictly forbydd & prohibit . . all & every other persone or persons whatsoever, Englishmen or straingers . . to entermeddle with the making, painting, or pryntinge . . excepting only one, Nichās Hilliard. . .'⁴

It is clear, therefore, that portraits of Elizabeth by Gheeraerts must have been painted by the permission and direction of Gower or Fryer, or are copies

¹ The post of Sergeant Painter is included in the list of the Queen's household with an estimate of her expenses, Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, pt. i, p. 13.

² Leonard Fryer was granted the office for life with a fee of £10 a year from the petty customs of the Port of London, *Cal. Dom. St. Papers*, June 12, 1598.

³ *Calendar Dom. State Papers*, 1547-80, p. 232.

⁴ Printed from the original charter among the Cotton MSS., IV. 26, by Sir F. Madden in *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vi. 237.

8 MARCUS GHEERAERTS, FATHER AND SON

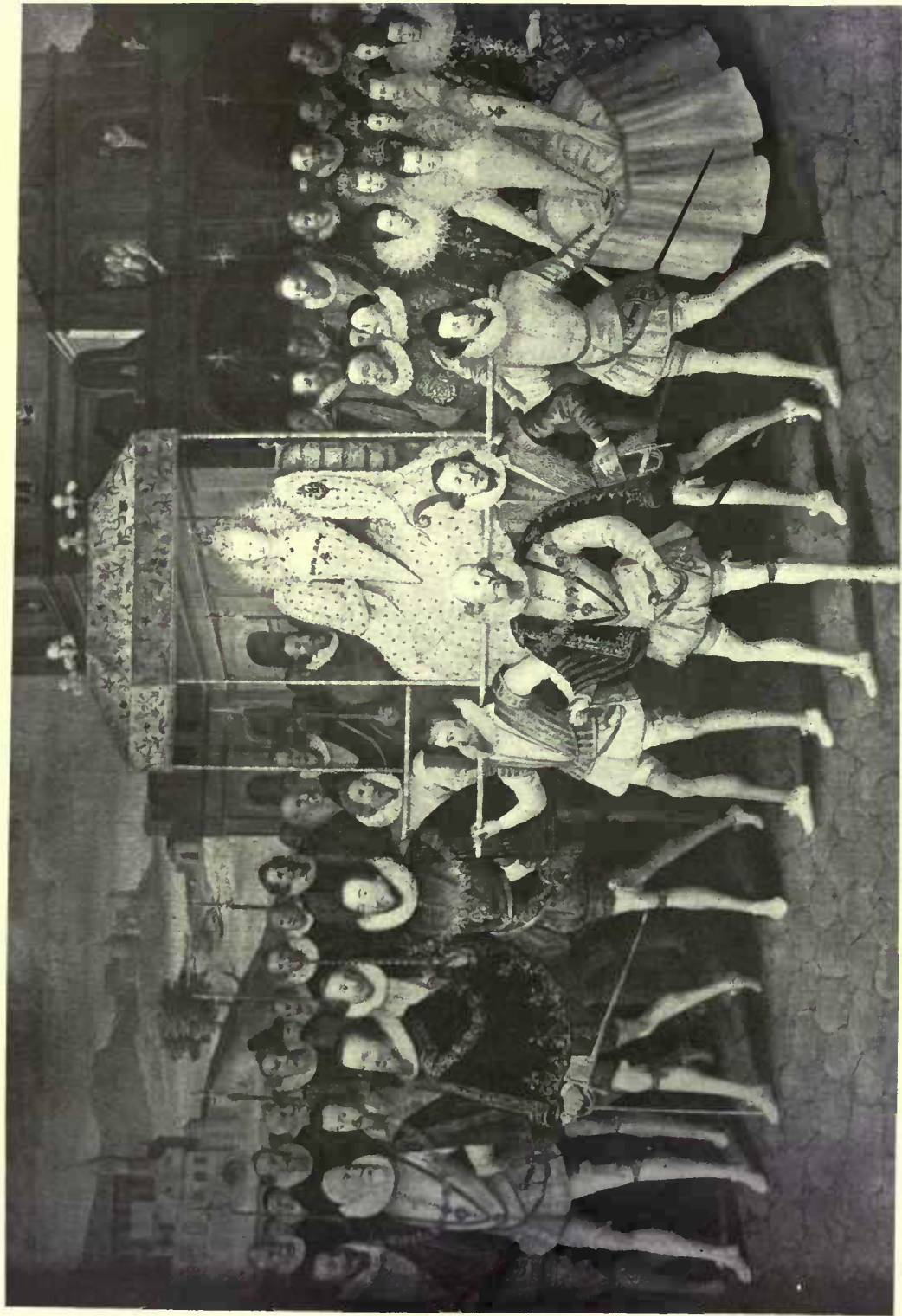
licensed by them. Under James the office seems still to remain in theory one, but it was often held, so to speak, in commission, by two or more. The sergeant's fee was reduced to £25¹ per annum, and £10 a piece was allowed for 'other painters'. Mark Gheeraerts obtained, we must suppose, this moderate measure of royal recognition. Of his popularity with the rest of the portrait-loving society of his day there can be no question.² He painted elderly students like Camden, and scholars like Savile in sober black, as well as men and women of the great world in splendid embroideries and jewels.

Gheeraerts died in the parish of Christ Church within Newgate on January 19, 1635/6. By his will his wife Magdalen was appointed executor, but she died in the interval between the drawing up of the document and the proving of it on March 21, 1636. This bare record from the Probate Act book is now all that remains of it. The copy that must have been made, though entered in the books of the Probate Court of Canterbury, has disappeared; the original was no doubt returned to his family. It is unfortunate too that the registers of his parish church for the period between 1588 and 1666 were burnt in the great fire.

His son Mark Gheeraerts or Garrett, the third of the name, was born in London in 1602. He lived with his parents in the parish of Christ Church, and is entered as having received the holy communion at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, on Sunday, April 13, 1623, and 'also at other times'. He was, perhaps, twice married: the second time to a certain Anne, widow of Francis Harrison, who was a woman of property. In her will, dated 1650, he appears as 'citizen and paynter steynner of London'. She directs that he should have besides a portion of her property, a 'further allowance and consideration for his paints, and for money spent upon them'. She leaves to 'my said husband Garett's four children now at home 10/ a piece, in remembrance of' her, but as they are not named it has not been possible to trace them. One perhaps is the Mark Garrett whose marriage to one Jane Bankes is recorded in the Registers of St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, in 1660.

¹ See Historical MSS. Commission: MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, p. 62, a list of the household of James I.

² He is numbered among the representative painters of England in 1598 by Fr. Meres, Part II, *Wit's Commonwealth*, 1598.



VISIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO BLACKFRIARS, JUNE 16, 1600

F. J. Wingfield Digby, Esq., Sherborne Castle

MARCUS GHEERAERTS

BY LIONEL CUST.

THE latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth is distinguished by a great number of portraits, many of them standing figures at whole length. These portraits are less remarkable for the delineation or interpretation of character than for the rich and fantastic costumes worn by both the ladies and gentlemen who formed the circle of courtiers, noblemen, and gentlefolk in which Queen Elizabeth moved in solitary state and grandeur. The isolation of the queen was remarkable. On her father's side, that of the crown, her only royal relative for some time had been her cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots ; and at Mary's death, apart from her infant son and heir, King James VI of Scotland, the succession to the crown of England was vested in the merely noble families of Stuart in Scotland, as representative of Elizabeth's aunt Margaret, by her second marriage with the Earl of Angus, and of Stanley in England, as representative of her aunt Mary, by her second marriage with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. On her mother's side, that of the Boleyns, the only relatives admitted to anything like intimacy with the queen were her cousins the Careys, Scropes, and Knollyses, children and grandchildren of her aunt, Mary Boleyn. At this lonely altitude, with no one near to love, or to love her in return, the queen was naturally thrown upon herself. As age began to make inroads on her charms, the queen sought to combat this by artificial means. She was a true product of the Renaissance, born as it were in the childish mysticism of the Middle Ages and grown up in the sterner, more practical self-consciousness of modernity. Her dress became more and more exaggerated, and fantastic, as she tried to conceal physical infirmities or the ravages of age. Out of compliment to their mistress, the ladies of her court dressed themselves in the same fashions. If the queen, for private physical reasons of her own, chose

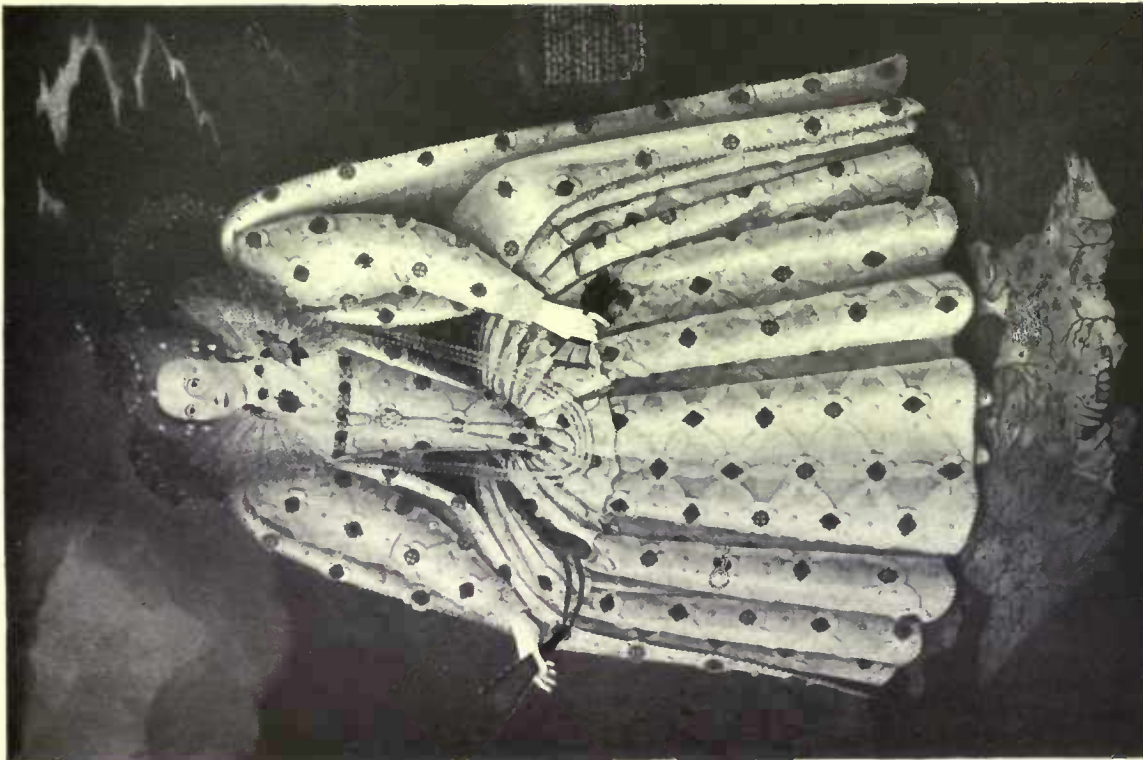
to wear the monstrous hooped petticoats introduced from Spain and known as farthingales, her ladies must do the same. If the starched ruff was extended to an absurd height and breadth in order to conceal the shrinking of the royal neck, the tender necks of the maids-of-honour had to be encased in the same fashion. It was not only the ladies who were governed by the freaks of fashion. The queen had a somewhat indiscreet admiration for a well-shaped figure in a man, and her courtiers and favourites, real or would-be, vied among themselves in deciding fashions, mostly in the French style, which would show off the shapely limb, or slender waist, and would display the figure best on horseback, at the chase or in the tilting-ring, or in the ball-room at the palace. The immense increase of wealth under the Tudor régime had its natural expression in the external trappings of society. The great houses erected at this period called for rich internal decorations, among which one of the most popular was the form of personal vanity revealed in portraiture.

No age is really better illustrated by its portraits than the Elizabethan, although native art was practically non-existent, and such artists as were imported, chiefly from the Netherlands, can in few cases be ranked perhaps even as high as the second class. They were, however, competent craftsmen, and picture-making soon became a recognized industry in London and even in provincial centres.

Among the artists to be found in London during the last twenty years of the sixteenth century, Marcus Gheeraerts, the younger, is the only one who stands out as of special importance. The biographical information contributed by Mrs. Poole shows that Marcus Gheeraerts, the elder, was a leading artist at Bruges, from about 1558 onwards, as painter, engraver, architect, and designer for glass, tapestry, and the illustration of books. Having adopted the reformed religion, he in 1568 sought refuge in England, to escape the fury of the Alvan persecution, as did Lucas D'Heere, the poet-painter, of Ghent, with whom Gheeraerts had been associated in the publication of an illustrated edition of Aesop's 'Fables' in 1566, which was very popular. It would appear that Gheeraerts brought over with him his son, Marcus, the younger, then a child of seven, but his wife was probably deceased before his removal,



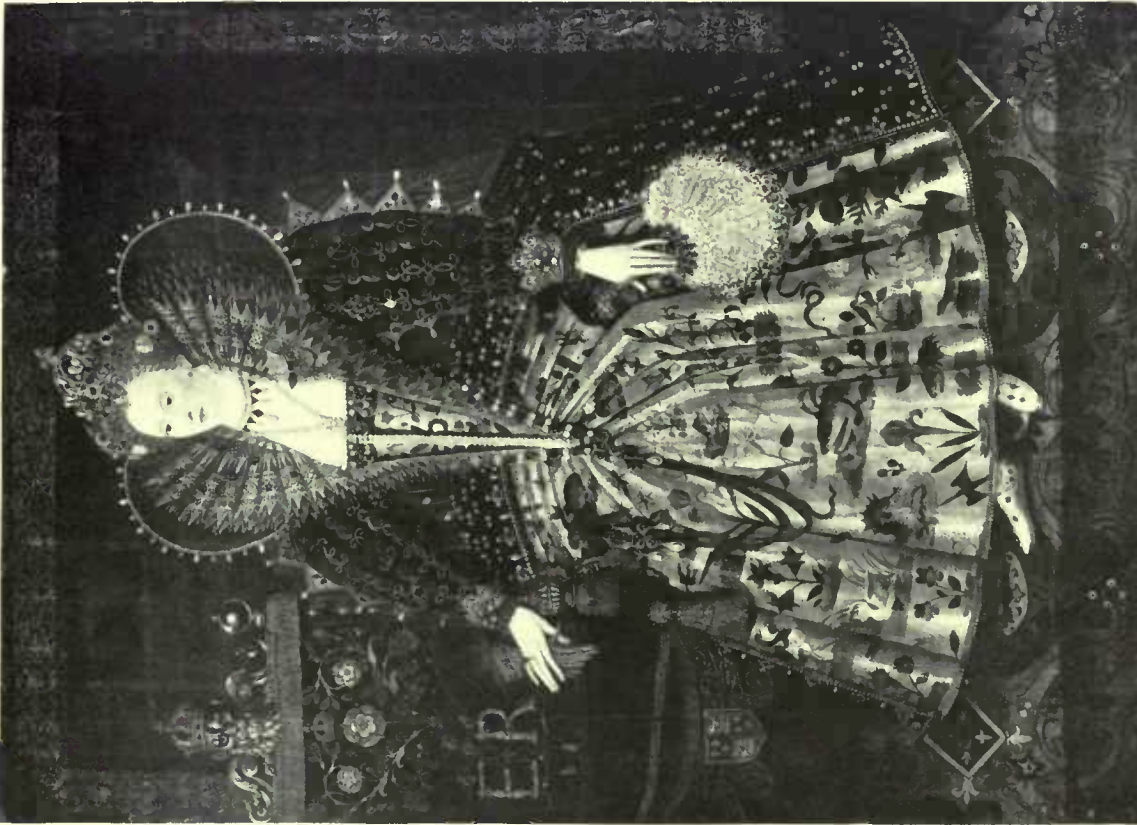
QUEEN ELIZABETH
Earl of Darnley, Cobham Hall



(a)

QUEEN ELIZABETH I

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley



(b)

QUEEN ELIZABETH I

Duke of Devonshire, Hardwick Hall



(a)

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(b)

QUEEN ELIZABETH

H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace

since in 1571 he took, as his second wife, Susanna, the sister of John De Critz, sergeant-painter to the queen, whose family history has been told by Mrs. Poole in a previous volume of this series. Marcus Gheeraerts, the elder, was in England until 1577, when he removed to Antwerp, Bruges being in a very disturbed state. He remained in Antwerp until 1586, after which no further trace of him is found, although he is said to have returned to England, and to have died in London in 1590. It seems impossible, therefore, to attribute to the hand of the elder Gheeraerts any of the costume-portraits or groups already alluded to. The only work which can be attributed to him in England with any certainty is the processional roll of the Knights of the Garter, drawn and etched by Gheeraerts for Thomas Dawes, Rouge-Croix Pursuivant at Arms, and executed, or certainly commenced, in 1576, the only complete copy of which is in the Print Room at the British Museum. A reduced copy by Hollar was made for Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*. It is, therefore, to Marcus Gheeraerts, the younger, that the authorship of these Elizabethan portraits must be attributed. Born in 1561, brought to London in 1568, he died in London in 1635/6, and the whole of his active life was spent in London, so that he may be looked upon as an English painter, like his successor Cornelius Johnson van Ceulen. The tradition that he was a pupil of Lucas D'Heere is very probably correct, for D'Heere and the elder Gheeraerts were friends and fellow exiles, and D'Heere did not return to Ghent till 1577, the same year as the elder Gheeraerts removed to Antwerp. It is most probable that the younger Gheeraerts did not accompany either his father to Antwerp or Lucas D'Heere to Ghent, but that he remained in London with the family of his step-mother, Susanna De Critz, whose sister Magdalena subsequently became his own wife. John De Critz, as sergeant-painter, held an official position which required assistants and pupils, so that the younger Gheeraerts would have been assured of employment at a very early age.

A clue is given to the portraits which may be attributed to Gheeraerts by a letter from Sir Robert Sidney, about 1597, asking his wife, Barbara Gamage, to go to Mr. Garratts and pay him for the picture of herself and their children, which had been so long done and

had not been paid for. This painting, which remains at Penshurst Place, is a large group representing Barbara, Lady Sidney, and her children. The ladies are dressed in white and silver with stiff bodices and farthingales. It is easy to associate with this group a number of portraits of ladies in a similar dress, and especially the famous painting of Queen Elizabeth carried in a litter at the ceremony of the marriage of Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Earl of Worcester, with the queen's favourite maid-of-honour, Anne Russell, which was celebrated at Blackfriars in June 1600. Two versions of this painting exist, one belonging to the Earl of Ilchester, at Melbury, the other to Lord Digby, at Sherborne Castle, the latter of which was the subject of a careful study by the late Sir George Scharf, K.C.B. The importance of these two groups quite justifies the inclusion of Gheeraerts, or Mark Garrard, as he was usually known in England, among the notable painters of the day mentioned by Sir Francis Meres in his *Wit's Commonwealth*, published in 1598. It is evident that they form the nucleus of a group of portraits which centre round such well-known portraits of Queen Elizabeth as the whole-length portraits at Hardwick and at Ditchley.

Another definite group of portraits, this time of young men, or in the prime of life, centres itself round the figure of the Earl of Essex, who reigned supreme in the queen's favour during the last decade of the century. This group comprised, besides Essex, Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, Thomas Ratcliffe, fifth Earl of Sussex, Capt. Thomas Lee, and others who were seen often on the stage of public life at this date. They wear, as a rule, tight-fitting white and silver clothes, which seem to indicate some employment at court, such as gentlemen-ushers of the Privy Chamber, while the rich armour, &c, which are introduced as accessories, suggest that the portraits celebrate some tourney or other festive occasion rather than denote the costume of ordinary life. It is possible also that the prevalence of white and silver in the portraits of ladies also denotes that this fashion was *de rigueur* at Elizabeth's court for ladies-in-waiting or maids-of-honour.

It is difficult to attribute these portraits in white and silver to any hand but that of Marcus Gheeraerts. At the close of the century there



(a)

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Duke of Portland, K.C., Welbeck Abbey



(b)

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Accademia delle Belle Arti, Siena



QUEEN ELIZABETH

Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield

seems to have been no other painter of the same calibre in London, and it was not until a few years after the accession of King James I and Queen Anne of Denmark that a number of painters came over, principally from Antwerp, to work for the court in London. The death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, though a portentous event in itself, did not bring about any immediate change in the habits and fashions of the court. Elizabeth left behind her such a vast wardrobe that King James, from motives of economy, insisted on Queen Anne wearing some of the gowns out. Anne of Denmark, therefore, appears early in her reign as Queen Consort in monstrous farthingales and stiff bodices, which probably formed part of Elizabeth's wardrobe. Queen Anne does not, however, seem to have insisted upon her ladies following her example, so that new and more elegant fashions made themselves shown. Male attire also developed new freaks, and whereas the Elizabethan courtier of the Essex period wore clothes clinging to the figure, the fashion at James's court tended to absurdly distended trunks and other fantastic devices, by which their royal master disguised the imperfections of his figure. Many of the portraits of the earliest years of the new century show a fantastic and exuberant display of rich stuffs, lace, and jewels, but it may be surmised that these dresses were not the garb of ordinary life, but fancy dresses worn at masques and other similar entertainments. Masques and revels were a favourite form of entertainment at court. Henry VIII took part in them personally, and Elizabeth, who in many ways resembled her father, would condescend to do the same. The importance of the masque as a means of literary expression can hardly be dated earlier than Ben Jonson. The partiality of Queen Anne of Denmark for this form of entertainment is well known.

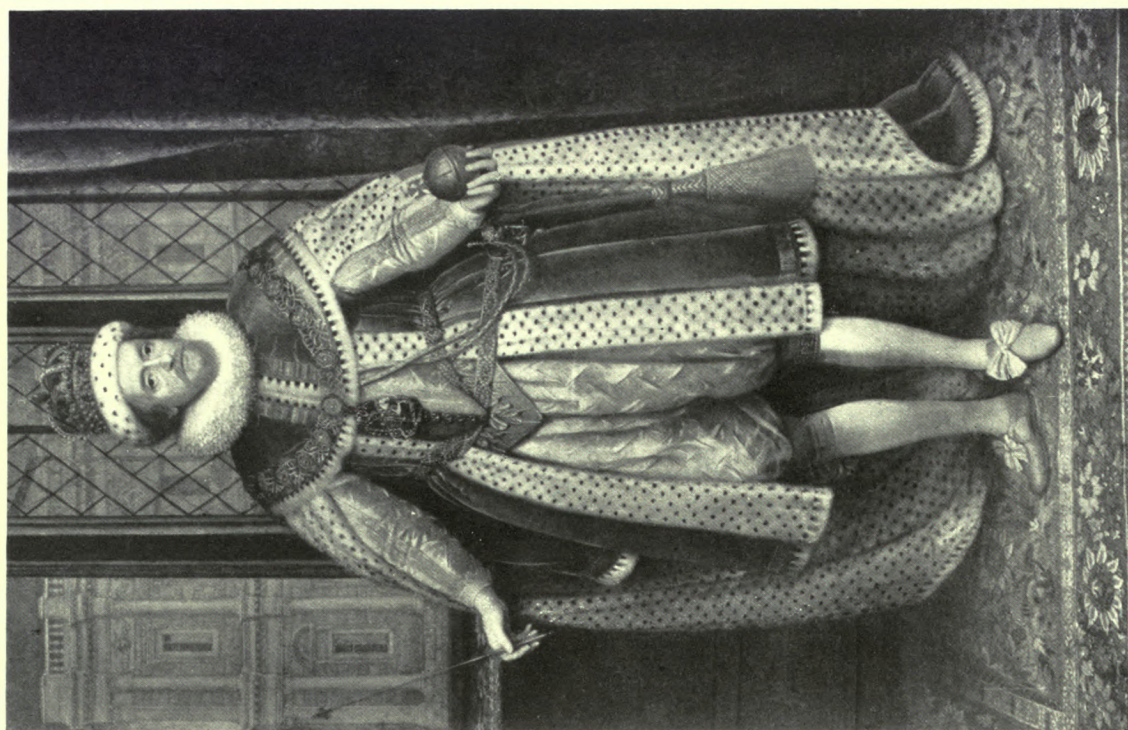
In ordinary life, dress assumed a much more sober aspect, and under the influence of Spanish fashions, especially in the Netherlands, black became quite a fashionable colour, especially for male dress. The same influence gradually broke down the tyranny of the ruff and introduced the falling collar. As the ruff receded behind the neck, the bosom was left more and more bare, even in the case of married women. In any attempt to assign portraits of this period to a particular painter, it is necessary to observe any tricks or mannerisms which can be

classified together and thus be assigned to one hand or to one *atelier*. It may be assumed that the elaborate costume-portraits of this period were the product of an *atelier* of artists, rather than of one man, especially since the actual portraiture was of less importance than the costume. It is known that Queen Elizabeth issued very definite instructions as to the method of taking her portraits, and painters like Marcus Gheeraerts and Nicholas Hilliard, if they had it in them at all to interpret character, were somewhat seriously affected by such royal instructions. With the turn of the century a more effective form of portraiture began to prevail, which is a help in distinguishing between the portraits by Marcus Gheeraerts and those by more accomplished painters, such as Cornelius Johnson, Paulus Van Somer, or Daniel Mytens, as also between Nicholas Hilliard, a goldsmith by training, and Isaac Oliver, a first-class interpretative artist.

Apart from details of actual costume, the following mannerisms may be noted: in male portraits the arm is often posed akimbo on the hip, the thumb turned up in a peculiar way, as in the portraits of the Earl of Southampton at Welbeck, and Sir John Kennedy at Woburn. This is an obvious trick of painting, which would be easily imitated.

The ladies in many cases stand by a large, high arm-chair, lined with velvet, across the arms of which lies a large velvet cushion, on which the lady rests her hand. A number of portraits showing this mannerism have been collected by Miss Kathleen Martin and published in the *Burlington Magazine* (June 1914). It can hardly be doubted that these portraits were produced from the same *atelier*, though they cover a period of some years, including the great portrait of Queen Elizabeth at Hardwick, and that of a lady with an arch-lute at Penshurst, which shows a costume of several years later.

The hands are in many cases peculiar, long, thin, very wooden, especially at the wrists. These hands suggest the work of some English assistant, such as George Gower in the earlier days, or Gilbert Jackson in the later. The same failing is shown in some of the miniatures by Hilliard. They are quite different from the better-modelled, fleshier hands of Mytens and Van Somer, just as the flat, thinly painted masks of the Elizabethan portraits, based probably upon



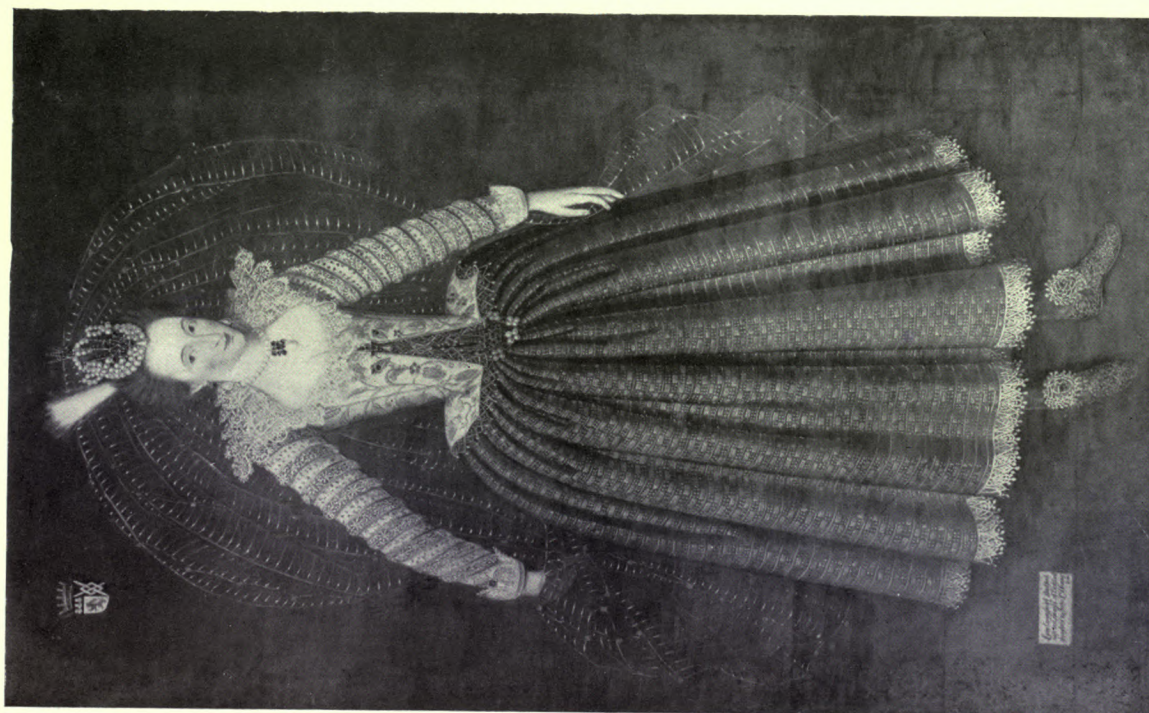
(b)

JAMES I
H.M. the King Hampton Court Palace



(a) 7606

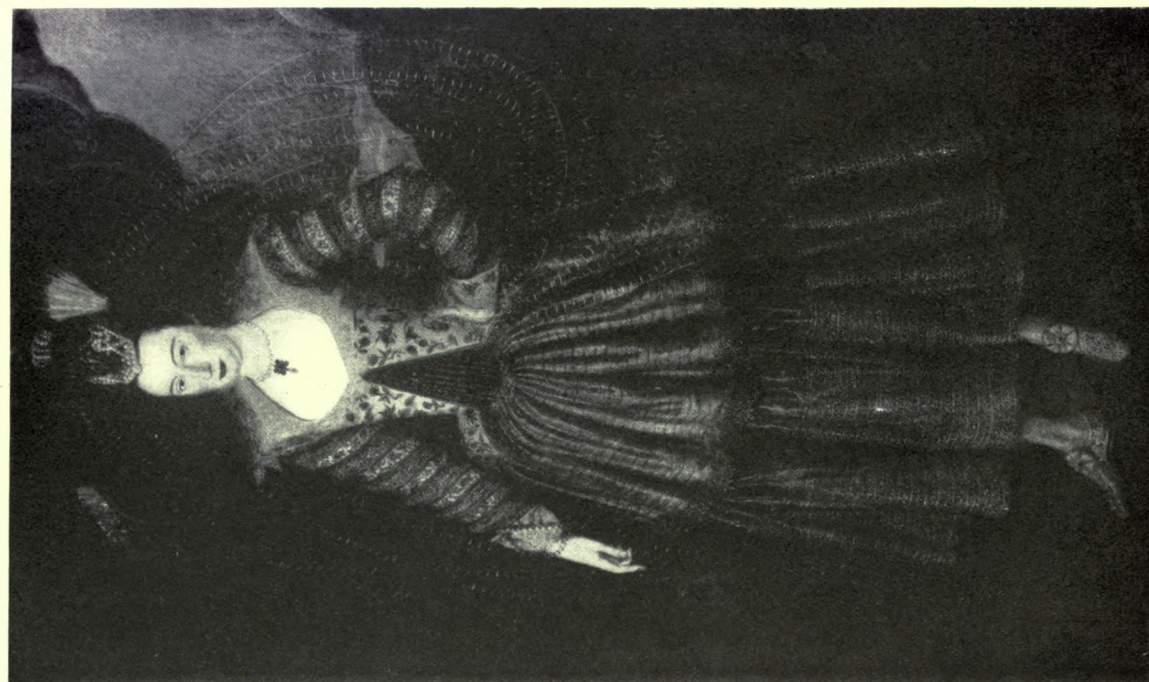
QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK
H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace



(a)

LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(b)

LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD

Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey

the skilful reticence of Holbein, are different from those modelled on Flemish or Dutch traditions.

Another special feature of these portraits lies in the fact that many of the whole-length figures, principally male, stand upon a floor covered with plaited matting, while others, including most of the ladies, stand upon an oriental carpet. The introduction of matting into this country must have been due to the trade with Holland, since the fibre, if not the matting itself, came from the East to Holland, and thence to England. The art of the carpet-weaver had spread from its original home in Persia through Turkey and Spain to Western Europe, and oriental carpets, imported either by land, or by sea through Venice, were generally known as Turkey carpets, and became at the close of the sixteenth century a well-known article of furniture in wealthy households. Although many weavers from the Netherlands settled in England at the same period, there is nothing to show that any continuous carpet-weaving industry was established in England before the middle of the seventeenth century. Both matting and carpets were imported luxuries, which relieved the stone or marble floors which in earlier days had been strewn with rushes. A new fashion is, therefore, marked by a figure standing on matting or a carpet. When a figure is standing on matting it has been customary to assume that the painter was either Mytens or Van Somer. A more careful classification, however, of these portraits shows that most of them must be the work of the Marcus Gheeraerts factory. The oriental carpet was more generally employed. In the case of companion portraits of husband and wife, the husband is sometimes represented as standing on matting, the lady on a carpet, as in the case of Lord and Lady Spencer, at Althorp. In either case the practice for such accessories does not seem to be earlier than about 1580-90.

The portraits which may be assigned to Marcus Gheeraerts the younger can be classified according to costume, and fall into two large groups, the division coinciding roughly, though not exactly, with the death of Elizabeth and the accession of the house of Stuart. A good instance of this division will be found in the two small allegorical

paintings called 'The Perfect Wife', one of which depicts a lady in a white dress of about 1600, and the other a lady in that of King James I's court about 1615. In his later portraits Gheeraerts approaches more nearly to the style of Miereveldt and Cornelius Johnson, but the commissions for the large whole-length portraits seem to have been diverted to the court painters, Paulus Van Somer and Daniel Mytens. Marcus Gheeraerts in later life does not seem to have enjoyed the favour of the new king and queen, for the Lord Chamberlain's accounts, which record many payments to Van Somer or Mytens, show no record of any employment given to Marcus Gheeraerts.

It may be repeated, therefore, that Marcus Gheeraerts, the younger, should be looked upon as an English painter, and the founder of a school of native painters, of whom, perhaps, the most conspicuous English-born painter was Gilbert Jackson.

ROYAL PORTRAITS.

Queen Elizabeth.

Portraits of Queen Elizabeth are fairly numerous, although a number of portraits, which really represent ladies of her court, have been and are still erroneously described as representing Elizabeth. The queen was far from being indifferent to the way in which she was portrayed. As early as 1563, Elizabeth issued a proclamation of considerable length, speaking of the demand of 'all sorts of subjects and people, both noble and mean', for portraits of the queen as a national desire, and stating that owing to complaints and the unsatisfactory results in 'paynting, graving and pryntyng' as to the 'natural representation of Her Majesty's person, favor, or grace', the queen had been recommended to sit only to 'some speciall coning paynter' to make a portrait 'to be participated to others for satisfaction of hir loving subjects', which was to be regarded as a 'patron or first portraicture'. It is not clear if this proclamation was ever actually issued, but the purport of it is confirmed by a statement by Sir Walter Raleigh that 'by the Queen's own commandment all pictures by unskilful and common painters were knocked in pieces and cast into



BARBARA GAMAGE, WIFE OF SIR ROBERT SIDNEY, AND HER CHILDREN

Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place



ANNE HOPTON, LADY WENTWORTH, AND THREE CHILDREN

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey

the fire'. This may account for the comparative scarcity of portraits representing Elizabeth in the earlier years of her reign.

For this early period it is hard to find any painter of sufficient distinction, except Hans Eworth, and even he does not, in his Elizabethan period, maintain the high level of his earlier portraits. Other painters who may have painted the queen at this date were Johannes Corvus, Gerlach Flick, and Guillim Stretes. The Alvan persecution in the Netherlands drove over some quite distinguished painters, such as Lucas D'Heere, John De Critz, and Marcus Gheeraerts, the elder. No portrait of the queen can be identified as the work of any one of these painters.

Cornelis Ketel resided in England for a few years, from 1573 to 1581, and it is recorded that he painted the queen at Hanworth in 1578 for the Duchess of Somerset. A still shorter stay in this country was made by Federigo Zuccaro, who was exiled from Italy under the displeasure of the Pope and came to England in 1574, remaining about four years. A tradition, handed down by Vertue through Horace Walpole, that Elizabeth sat for her portrait to Zuccaro, has been responsible for the reckless way in which many portraits of Elizabeth and her court have, in defiance of age and other circumstances, been attributed to Zuccaro and his school. Apart from the two portrait sketches of Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester in the Print Room at the British Museum, there does not appear to be a single portrait of this period which can be attributed with any confidence to Federigo Zuccaro, and even these drawings cannot be accepted with certainty as by him.

A more definite piece of evidence appears in a patent appointing George Gower in 1584 to be sergeant-painter to the queen, with the sole right of making 'all manner of purtraicts and pictures of our person phisiognomy and proporçon of our bodye in oil cullers upon bourdes or canvas, or to grave the same in copper or to cutt the same in woode, etc. . . .' The few portraits which are known to be by Gower do not make it likely that the large costume-portraits of this period can be credited to him.

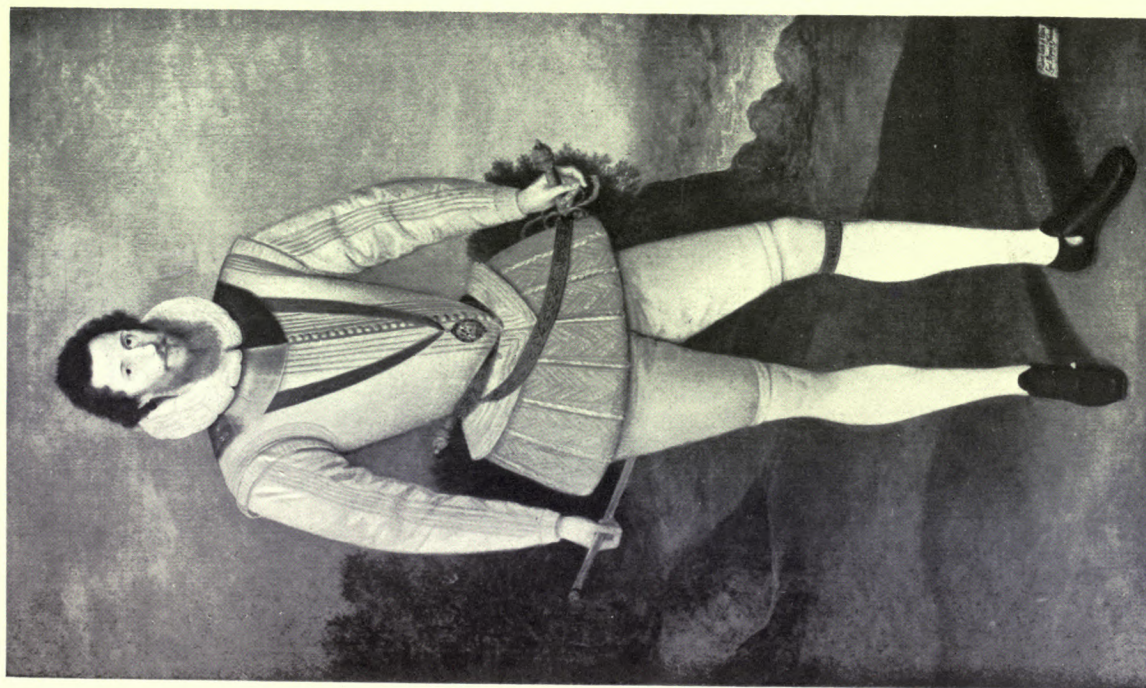
Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver were limners, or painters in little. In spite of any statements to the contrary, there is no

evidence to show that either of these painters ever attempted portraits on a larger scale.

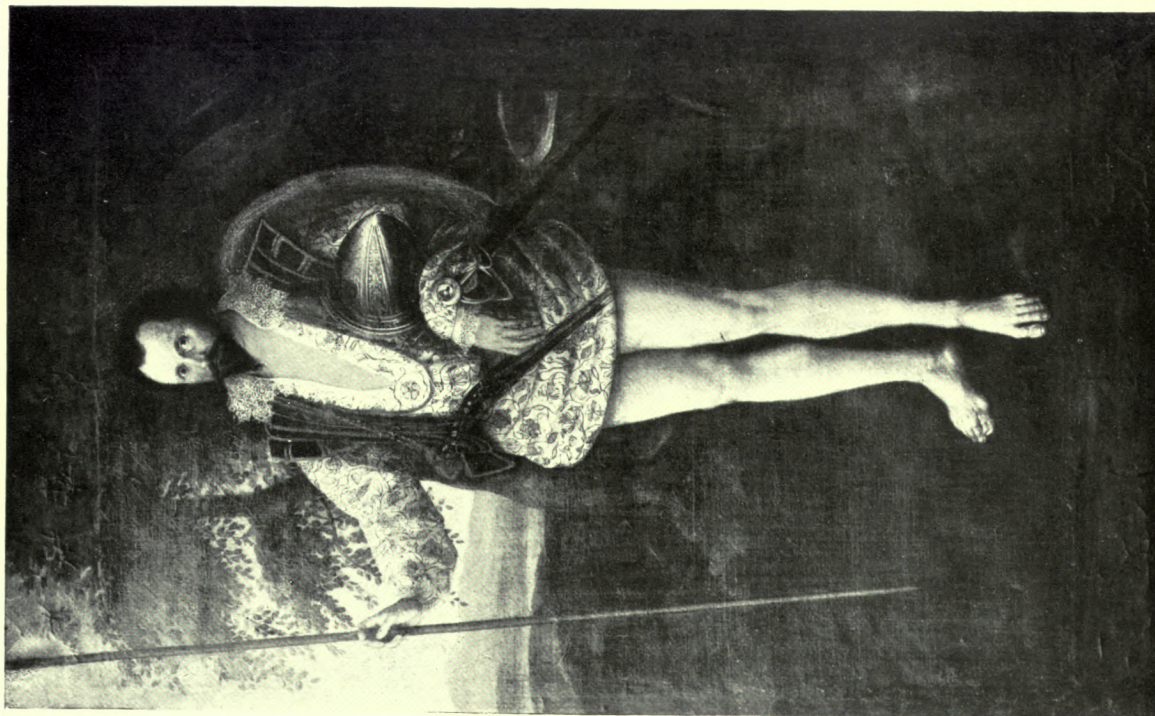
There is some good ground for thinking that the great factory for portraits of the queen and other eminent persons was set up by John De Critz and Marcus Gheeraerts. They both, like Lucas D'Heere, belonged to the Reformed Church and were refugees in England. John De Critz, as Mrs. Poole has shown, was apprenticed to Lucas D'Heere; one of his sisters married Marcus Gheeraerts, the father, in 1571, and another, Magdalena, married Marcus Gheeraerts, the son, in 1590. When matters allowed of it, both Lucas D'Heere and the elder Gheeraerts returned to the Netherlands, while John De Critz and the younger Gheeraerts remained in London, the former being a few years the elder of the two. Both, however, seem to have worked from their boyhood in London, and may therefore be regarded as the founders of a distinct English school, comprising Gower, and, later on, Robert Peake and Gilbert Jackson. De Critz, Marc Garrard, and Peake are all selected for mention by Sir Francis Meres in his *Wit's Commonwealth*, published in 1598. Another painter, mentioned by Meres as 'Hieronimo', can be identified as Hieronimo Custodis from Antwerp, by whom there are signed portraits at Woburn Abbey, Hampton Court Palace, and elsewhere. Three portraits of the Brydges family, painted in 1589, at Woburn, are quite distinctive in themselves, and yet resemble so much portraits which may be attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts as to render any certainty of ascription in these cases very difficult to attain.

A fairly complete catalogue of painted and engraved portraits of Queen Elizabeth was published in 1894 by Mr. Freeman M. O'Donoghue, F.S.A., to which the reader must be referred for further details. Although only one portrait of Elizabeth, the small whole-length portrait at Welbeck Abbey, is signed by Marcus Gheeraerts, it seems probable that it is to this painter that all the really important portraits of Elizabeth in the second half of her reign should be attributed. Some of these have been selected for description here.

It is possible that some of the rare and important portraits of Queen Elizabeth engraved by William Rogers and Crispin Van de



(a) ROBERT DEVEREUX, 2ND EARL OF ESSEX, K.G.
Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(b) THOMAS LEE
Viscount Dillon, Ditchley



ROBERT RADCLIFFE, 5TH EARL OF SUSSEX

Henry Harris, Esq.

Passe are from original portraits by Marcus Gheeraerts. The famous portrait in the dress in which the queen went to St. Paul's Cathedral, to offer thanksgiving after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, is usually attributed to Isaac Oliver, and the drawing now at Windsor Castle seems to be his work. There are, however, two engraved versions of this portrait, the earlier by William Rogers, the later by Crispin Van de Passe. In the former, the large chair in the background has the cushion motive, which occurs in so many of the portraits attributed to the younger Gheeraerts. Seeing that Isaac Oliver married Sara Gheeraerts, who appears to have been daughter of the elder Marcus by his second wife, Sara De Critz, and therefore step-sister to the younger Marcus, it would not be surprising to find these painters working in some connexion with each other.

King James and Queen Anne of Denmark.

When the new king and queen came south from Scotland to London, they would have found the London picture-manufactories in full working order under John De Critz, Marcus Gheeraerts, and Robert Peake, supposing that these painters worked independently of each other, and not on a joint-stock basis. It is probable, therefore, that King James and Queen Anne would have their portraits taken by at all events a painter of the calibre of Marcus Gheeraerts. A portrait of King James in the Dulwich Gallery has been credited by tradition to Gheeraerts, and this tradition can be accepted. Otherwise it is difficult to assign with certainty any of the official portraits of the new king.

There are numerous portraits of Queen Anne of Denmark, mostly in the great farthingale and peaked stomacher which were worn by Queen Elizabeth in her later years, and which bear out the tradition that Queen Anne was forced to wear out Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe. These portraits are usually ascribed to Paul Van Somer, but some, such as the portrait at Woburn Abbey and that at Hampton Court Palace in a farthingale, may be by Marcus Gheeraerts. The portrait, however, of the queen in hunting dress, with her dogs, at Hampton Court, is more likely to be by Paul Van Somer. At Hampton Court Palace, also, there is a series of portraits of the family of Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick,

whose wife, Elizabeth of Denmark, was sister to Queen Anne. These portraits, all at whole-length, represent the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick, their children—Duke Rudolph and Princesses Elizabeth, Hedwig, and Dorothea; Queen Sophia, mother of Queen Anne, and two other ladies. These portraits bear in some cases the dates 1608 or 1609. They are not in the manner of Van Somer or Mytens, and there was no painter in Denmark or Brunswick who could have painted a series of portraits in such very English pose and costume. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to attribute these portraits to Marcus Gheeraerts, painted perhaps during a visit to the queen of her own immediate relatives. As Marcus Gheeraerts, on his own portrait, painted in 1627 and engraved by Hollar, is described as painter and servant to both Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne, it is reasonable to suppose that some of Queen Anne's patronage was extended to him.

The portraits of the two sons of James I and Anne of Denmark, Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Charles, Duke of York, afterwards Prince of Wales and King Charles I, also present several points open to discussion. The portraiture of Henry, Prince of Wales, is well known through the miniature portraits by Hilliard and Isaac Oliver. These represent a boy with a particular shape of face and growth of hair, which are found in a whole-length portrait of a prince in the robes of the Bath, belonging to Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, which from long tradition has been considered to be the portrait of Henry, Prince of Wales. This portrait is almost certainly the work of Marcus Gheeraerts, as also seems to be the companion portrait of Charles, Prince of Wales, in Garter robes, painted a few years later. Should this be really a portrait of Charles, a number of portraits usually looked upon as representing Henry, Prince of Wales, would have to be accepted as the portraits of Charles, such as the large equestrian portrait belonging to Mr. Williams of St. Donat's Castle, the hunting-groups at Wroxton Abbey and Hampton Court Palace, the portrait at Combe Abbey, that at Magdalen College, Oxford, the small portrait in the Bodleian Library, and others in which the type of face, growth and colour of the hair, and other details suggest the likeness of Charles, rather than that of Henry. The title 'Prince of Wales'



(a) HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, 3RD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON
Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey



(b) EDMUND SHEFFIELD, EARL OF MULGRAVE, K.G. (?)
Marquess of Bath, Longleat



(a)

ROGER (?) NORTH
Lord North, Wroxton Abbey



(b)

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY (?)
Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place

is seldom connected with Charles I, although he enjoyed it for some ten years, and for this reason portraits of the Prince of Wales at this date would generally be supposed to represent Henry.

As a question of iconography, the early portraits of Charles I require some study, and this would very possibly add something to the list of works executed by Marcus Gheeraerts as the queen's painter.

Another iconographical study of much interest lies in the portraits of the Princess Arbella Stuart; several portraits of whom can be assigned with some confidence to Marcus Gheeraerts.

The small whole-length portrait of Arbella as a girl, with her parrots, her monkey, and her dog, at Woburn Abbey, sometimes called a portrait of Elizabeth of Bohemia, appears to be the work of Gheeraerts. It is like Arbella, but might be Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, then young. In later life, the portrait from which a familiar contemporary engraving was taken was probably by Gheeraerts, as also the whole-length portrait, called Arbella Stuart, which belongs to the Marquess of Bath, at Longleat. On the other hand, the whole-length portrait at Hardwick Hall, of which a replica is at Welbeck Abbey, is signed with the initials C. V. M., and is therefore probably by Carel Van Mander. The well-known whole-length portrait of a lady with a stag, at Hampton Court Palace, usually called 'Queen Elizabeth in fancy dress, by Zuccherò', is almost certainly a portrait of Arbella Stuart. The strange dress, and the verses alluding to captivity, may possibly record one of the masques, in which Elizabeth took much pleasure and the ladies of the court played parts themselves, as for instance at the festivities connected with the marriage of Mistress Anne Russell at Blackfriars in 1600. The visit of Queen Elizabeth to the marriage of her favourite maid-of-honour is commemorated in the two duplicate paintings at Sherborne Castle and Melbury, which have every evidence of being painted by Gheeraerts. There is actual evidence that the large group of Barbara, Lady Sidney, and her six children, at Penshurst, was painted by Gheeraerts. There is less certainty, however, about the well-known 'Ambassadors' Conference in 1604', in the National Portrait Gallery.

To make anything like a definite statement about the attribution of Elizabethan portraits would be to invite criticism, probably of

a destructive nature. It may be noted, however, that up to the death of Queen Elizabeth there was no portrait-painter of eminence (except perhaps Hieronimo Custodis) to compete with Marcus Gheeraerts in his own line. Imitators there may have been, especially in the provinces. James I and Queen Anne introduced a series of new artists, of whom the best known are Paul Van Somer and Daniel Mytens, but which included Carel Van Mander, then popular at the Danish Court, and Abraham Van Blyenberg from Antwerp. As these painters were all in the fashion, it is difficult to distinguish their work with accuracy. From a general point of view the new arrivals were superior to the existing local talent, as shown by Marcus Gheeraerts, and caused him to sink to a lower rank of employment. It may have been for this reason that it is only during the later years of his life that we find his name attached to portraits, while his later portraits seem to be more in the style of Cornelius Johnson than those painted in the more glorious days of Elizabeth. When therefore a portrait, no matter how rich the costume, shows a conventional want of skill in the drawing of hands and other parts of the body, it is safer to attribute this to Marcus Gheeraerts, or one of his English imitators, such as Robert Peake, than to any painter trained in the schools at Antwerp or Delft.

The ensuing list of portraits must therefore be regarded as tentative, and grouped round those portraits of which actual evidence exists that the painter was Marcus Gheeraerts.

A. GROUPS.

- (1) BARBARA GAMAGE, WIFE OF SIR ROBERT SIDNEY (afterwards Earl of Leicester), WITH HER TWO SONS, WILLIAM AND ROBERT, AND HER FOUR DAUGHTERS, MARY, PHILIPPA, ELIZABETH, AND BARBARA. [Plate X.]

Whole-length standing figures, in white dresses ; painted in 1596.
Canvas.

Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place.

- (2) QUEEN ELIZABETH'S ARRIVAL AT BLACKFRIARS, JUNE 16, 1600, TO ATTEND THE MARRIAGE OF ANNE, DAUGHTER OF JOHN, LORD RUSSELL, WITH HENRY, LORD HERBERT, ELDEST SON OF EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER, K.G.

A group of numerous standing figures of courtiers and spectators, in the centre of which is the Queen, seated under a canopy on a litter borne by six gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Among the gentlemen are the Earl of Worcester and his son, Lord Russell, Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, K.G., Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, K.G., George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon, K.G., George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, K.G., Thomas, Lord Howard de Walden, K.G., Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, and others.



(a)

SIR THOMAS CONINGSBY

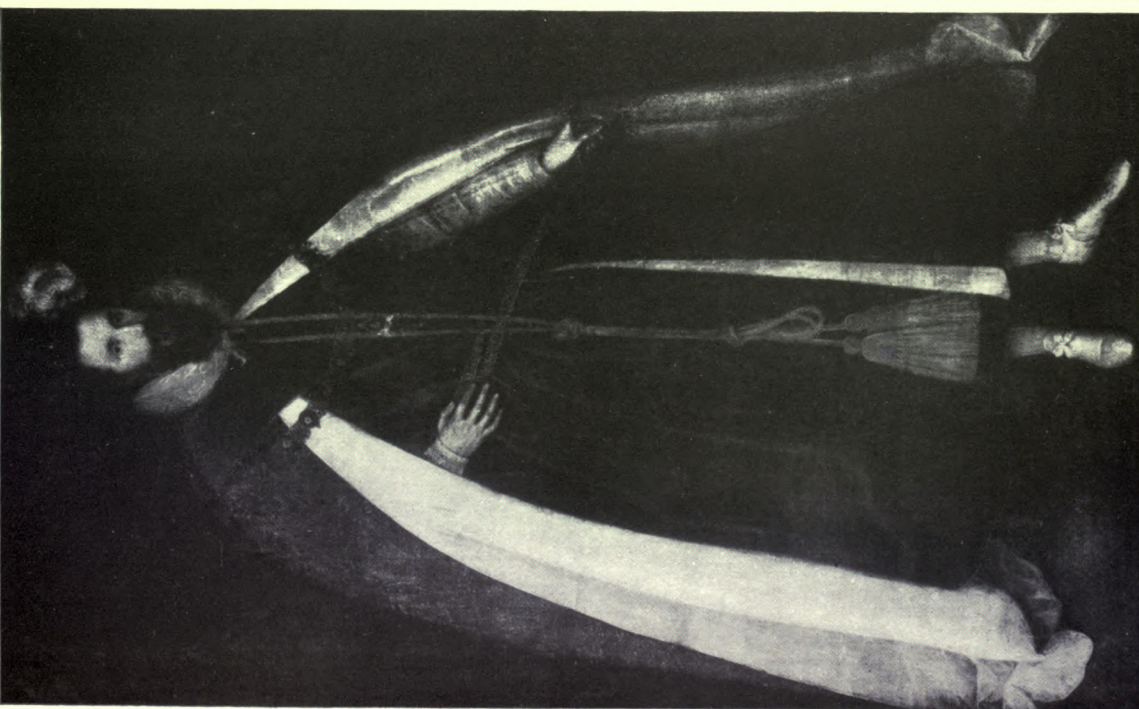
Earl of Essex, Cassiobury



(b)

SIR WALTER RALEGH

Sir Henry Farnaby Lennard, Bart., Wickham Court



(a)

ROBERT DEVEREUX, 2ND EARL OF ESSEX, K.G.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley



(b)

SIR HENRY LEE, K.G.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley

Among the ladies are the bride, Anne Russell, her mother, Elizabeth Cooke, Lady Russell, and her aunt, Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford.

Canvas $52 \times 74\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Two versions of this painting exist almost exactly similar, but with slight differences in the flowered brocade of the canopy:

A. *Earl of Ilchester, Melbury.* [Frontispiece.]

B. *Mr. F. J. Wingfield-Digby, Sherborne Castle.* [Plate I.]

In the latter version the Queen's right hand is not visible.

Manchester, 1857, No. 64; S. K. M., 1866, No. 256; Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 368.

(B) was engraved by G. Vertue in error as the Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Hunsdon House in 1571. It was then at Coleshill in Warwickshire; see G. Scharf in *The Archaeological Journal*, xxiii, 1866, 131-44.

(3) ANNE, LADY WENTWORTH (afterwards Countess of Downe), AND THREE CHILDREN. [Plate XI.]

Anne, daughter of Sir Owen Hopton, and wife, first, of Henry, third Lord Wentworth, and afterwards of William Pope, first Earl of Downe, with her three children, Henry, Thomas, and Jane Wentworth.

Whole-lengths: Lady Downe in white dress with farthingale and tight bodice. Open ruff and winged veil; her three children standing before her on a carpet.

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxtton Abbey.

(4) MEETING OF THE ENGLISH, SPANISH, AND FLEMISH COMMISSIONERS AT SOMERSET HOUSE IN AUGUST, 1604. [Plate XXXVIII A.]

The Commissioners here represented acted as envoys and plenipotentiaries to formulate a treaty between King James I on the one side, and the King of Spain with the Archduke and Archduchess of Austria, regents of the Netherlands, on the other: see Stow's *Annals* (1631). The conference met at Somerset House, and the treaty was sworn to on August 19, 1604.

On either side of a table covered with a turkey cloth are seated the Commissioners; on the left the six foreign envoys, Juan de Velasco, Duke of Frias, Juan Baptista de Tassis, Count of Villa Mediana, and Alessandro Rovida, Professor of Law at Milan, as representing the King of Spain, with Charles, Prince d'Aremberg, Jean Richardot, President of the Council, and Lodovic Verreyken, Principal Secretary, on behalf of the regents. On the right sit the English Commissioners, Robert, Lord Cecil (afterwards Viscount Cranborne and Earl of Salisbury), Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, K.G., Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, K.G., and Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, K.G. The walls are hung with tapestry, dated on the borders 1560. Formerly at Hamilton Palace, and purchased in 1882.

Canvas 81×105 in.

National Portrait Gallery.

Reproduced in T. F. Henderson's *James I and VI* (Goupil), and fully described by Sir G. Scharf in the official catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery for 1888.

This painting is usually assigned to Marcus Gheeraerts, the younger, but it bears the signature of Juan Pantoja dela Cruz, 1594. In spite of the error in the date it is not impossible that the painting may be by Pantoja, who was court-painter to King Philip III of Spain, and may have been sent by the King of Spain to take the portraits of the principal persons on this occasion. Probably also John de Critz, as sergeant-painter, had some share in the execution of this picture.

B. QUEEN ELIZABETH.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(1) W. L., standing on a map worked in tapestry; large farthingale; probably painted in 1592. [Plate III (a).]

Canvas 96 × 60.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

Manchester, 1857, No. 18; S. K. M., 1868, No. 642.

Reproduced in T. F. Henderson's *James I and VI* (Goupil); F. M. O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 69; *Cat. of Paintings at Ditchley*, No. 26.

(2) W. L., standing on a turkey carpet; large farthingale; dress worked with flowers, birds, animals, &c.: right hand on cushion across arms of a chair. [Plate III (b).]

Canvas 90 × 66 in.

Duke of Devonshire, Hardwick Hall.

S. K. M., 1866, No. 229; Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 418.

F. M. O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 53; reproduced in S. A. Strong's *Pictures in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection*.

(3) W. L., standing on a crimson carpet; gold and silver brocade dress embroidered with flames and rosettes, green velvet mantle; many pearls and jewels; feather fan in left hand, her right on two books on a table.

Canvas 76 × 48 in.

Master's Lodge, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 346.

O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 45.

(4) H. L., standing, in black and white dress; hands on a globe; representations of the Armada in the background. [Plate IV (a).]

Panel 52½ × 42½ in.

(a) *Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey.*

(b) *W. Tyrwhitt-Drake, Esq., Shardeloes.*

O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 23.

(5) Small W. L., standing on a carpet; white dress embroidered with flowers; sword of state before her, inscribed M. G. F.; view of a garden with courtiers in the background. [Plate V (a).]

Panel 18 × 15 in.

Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey.

Manchester, 1857, No. 62; Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 465.

O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 35; reproduced in C. F. Murray's *Cat. of Pictures at Welbeck Abbey*, No. 122.

(6) T. Q. L., standing; holding a colander; in the background a colonnade in palace with courtiers, one of whom is Sir Christopher Hatton. [Plate V (b).]

Accademia delle Belle Arti, Siena.

Reproduced in *Cat. dell' Esposizione del Ritratto*, Florence, 1912.

(7) T. Q. L., in black dress, holding a colander.

Panel.

H.M. The King, Holyrood Palace.

O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 12.

(8) T. Q. L., holding a colander.

Panel 49 × 34 in.

Lady Fairfax-Lucy, Charlecote Park.

Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 271.

O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 30.

(9) T. Q. L., holding a colander.

Panel 39 × 31½ in.

Earl Beauchamp, Madresfield.

Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 328.

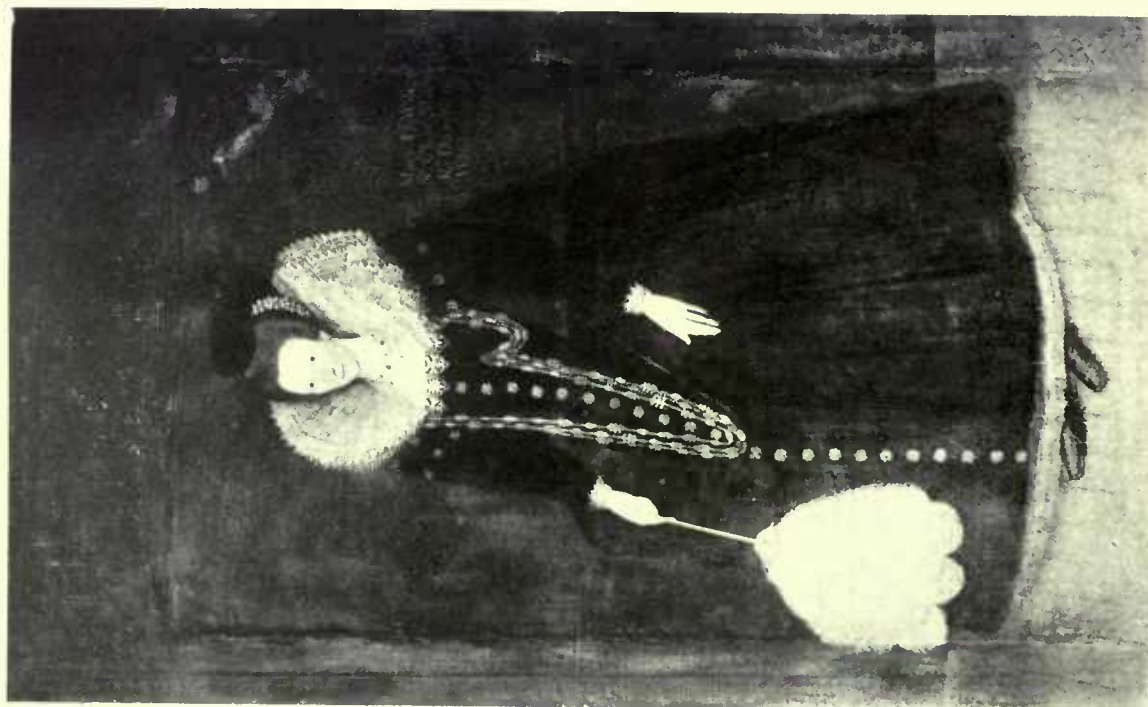
O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 11.



(a)

WILLIAM POPE, 1ST EARL OF DOWNE

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey



(b)

MARY WHITMORE, LADY MONTAGUE

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey



ELIZABETH VERNON, COUNTESS OF SOUTHAMPTON

Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey

- (10) T. Q., in grey dress and veil; rich jewels; coloured feathered fan. [Plate II.]
Panel. *Earl of Darnley, Cobham Hall.*
O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 8.
- (11) T. Q., standing in rich brocade dress embroidered with eyes, gears, serpent, &c.; large winged hood and veil; a rainbow in her hand. NON SINE SOLE IRIS. [Plate VI.]
Canvas 50 x 39 in. *Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield.*
S. K. M., 1866, No. 267; Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 1410 B.
O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 75; reproduced in colours by the Medici Society.
- (12) Bust to l.; black dress, high sleeves; wired hood.
Panel 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle.*
O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 37; reproduced in Lady Radnor and W. B. Squire's *Cat. of Pictures at Longford Castle*, No. 163.
- (13) T. Q., standing; in farthingale and peaked stomacher; pattern of suns and daisies on the dress; chronogram giving the date as 1595 or 1597.
Panel (a) *Earl of Dalkeith, Boughton Hall.*
O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 46; reproduced in *Archaeologia*, li, p. 214; see also *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, ii. 167.
(b) A repetition, or copy on canvas, dated 1595.
The Deanery, Westminster.
O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 47.
- (14) Bust; jewelled head-dress.
Panel 24 x 19 in. *University Library, Cambridge.*
Presented in 1588/9 by Vincent Skinner.
S. K. M., 1866, No. 363; Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 460.
O'Donoghue, *Cat. of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, No. 10.
- (15) T. Q., in rich embroidered dress. *Christ Church, Oxford.*
S. K. M., 1866, No. 350.
- (16) W. L., standing in farthingale. *Jesus College, Oxford.*
- (17) H. L., holding feather fan. [Plate IV (b).]
H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace.

Other portraits of Queen Elizabeth may be attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts, but the possibility of some being by George Gower must not be overlooked. Certain well-known engraved portraits appear to be founded on paintings by Gheeraerts, such as the fine, large portraits engraved by William Rogers, and those engraved by Crispin Van de Passe for the Flemish publisher, Jan Woudneel, in London, dated 1592 and 1596. For these engravings see O'Donoghue's *Catalogue of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, and Colvin's *History of Engraving in England*.

A number of portraits of ladies, painted in the manner of Gheeraerts, have been erroneously called Queen Elizabeth, an aquiline nose, farthingale, peaked stomacher or the like being considered sufficient resemblance. Sometimes even these points of resemblance are wanting. Speaking generally, it may be doubted if Queen Elizabeth ever wore, or at all events was painted in, a dark brown wig, or otherwise than with golden or reddish hair and a pale or white complexion.

C. PORTRAITS OF JAMES I, ANNE OF DENMARK, AND THEIR FAMILY.

In speaking of portraits of James I and Anne of Denmark reference must be made to the interesting account of work done by John de Critz for Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, dated October 16, 1607, published by Mr. Collins Baker in his *Lely and the Stuart Portrait-Painters*, and again by Mrs. Poole in the *Second Annual of the Walpole Society*, p. 48. The account includes more than one portrait of the Earl of Salisbury himself. From the *Calendar of State Papers* it appears that John de Critz was in August 1606 paid £53 6s. 8d. for painting three whole-length portraits of King James, Queen Anne, and the Prince of Wales for the Archduke of Austria. It is difficult, therefore, to distinguish clearly between the portraits painted by John de Critz and those by his brother-in-law, Marcus Gheeraerts, supposing that they worked separately and were not partners in a picture manufactory.

JAMES I.

(1) W. L., standing.

Earl of Craven, Combe Abbey.

S. K. M., 1866, No. 477.

(2) W. L., standing on a carpet in white dress with black hat and cloak.

From Bilton Hall, Rugby; presented by Mr. Henry Yates Thompson, 1898.

Canvas 79 × 51 in.

Dulwich Gallery.

(3) W. L., standing on a carpet in royal robes; sceptre and orb in hand; in background a view of Whitehall, perhaps a later addition. [Plate VII (b)]

Canvas.

H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace.

ANNE OF DENMARK.

(1) W. L., standing on plain floor in white farthingale, embroidered with flowers and peacock's feathers; inscribed '*La mia grandezza dal eccelso*' and also *Fundamentum meum*. [Plate VIII (a).]

Scharf, 58, as by P. Van Somer.

Canvas 84 × 50 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey.

(2) W. L., standing on marble floor; white farthingale, embroidered with flowers; left hand on table; view of a palace in background, which appears to be a later addition, by Steenwyck. [Plate VII (a).]

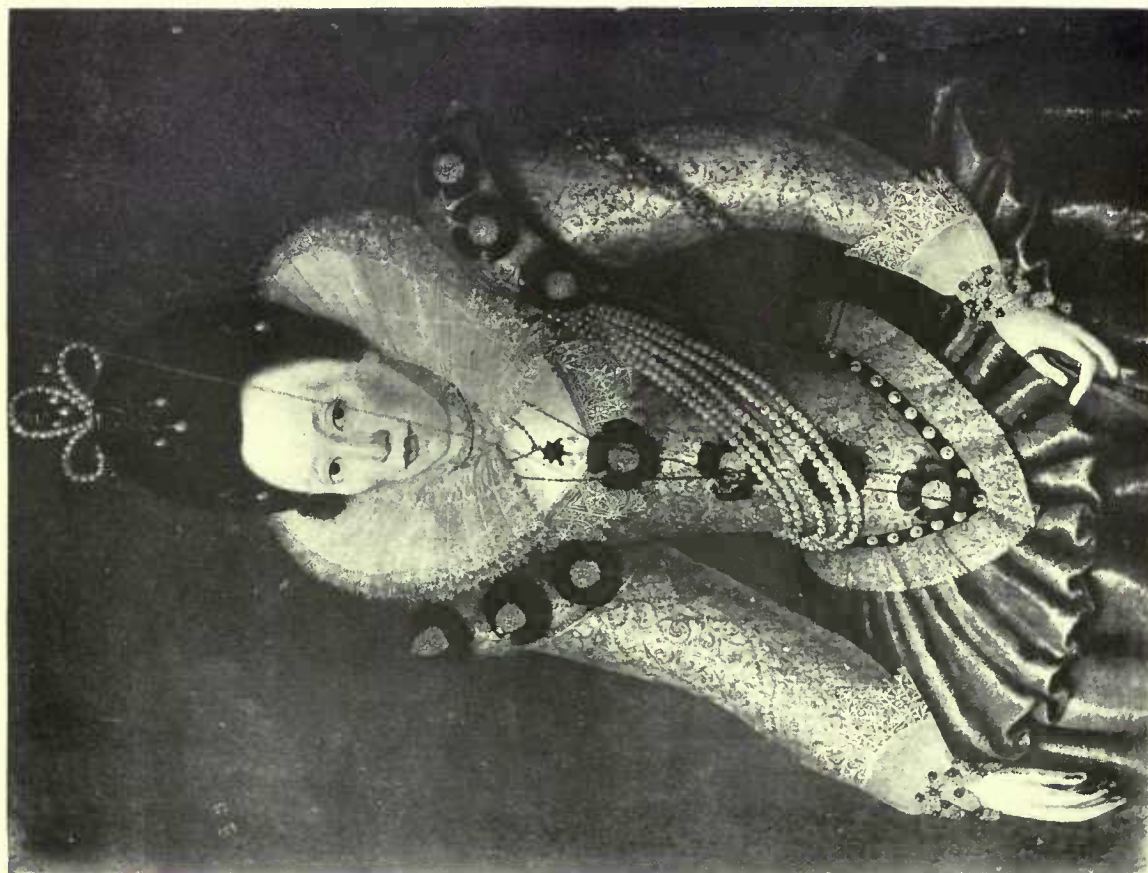
Usually catalogued as by P. Van Somer.

Canvas 91½ × 58 in.

H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace.

ARBELLA STUART.

Arbella Stuart, born in 1575, was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, younger brother of Henry, Lord Darnley, and Elizabeth Cavendish, his wife, daughter of Sir William Cavendish and his wife Elizabeth (Bess of Hardwick). She was thus first cousin to James I, and, through her father, the next heir to the crown, until the birth of Henry, Prince of Wales. Owing to this position she was the subject of much anxiety to Queen Elizabeth and to James I, who, however, treated her kindly. In 1610, however, she married without the king's consent William Seymour, afterwards Earl of Hertford, and was committed to the Tower, whence she escaped for a short time only in June 1611. She died in the Tower on September 25, 1615. As the principal lady at court after the queen Arbella took part in many court functions and revels, until her disgrace and confinement. She was vain, extravagant, and fond of rich and fantastic costumes. A number of portraits of her exist, some of which appear to be the work of Marcus Gheeraerts.



(b)

DOROTHY DALE, LADY NORTH

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey



(a)

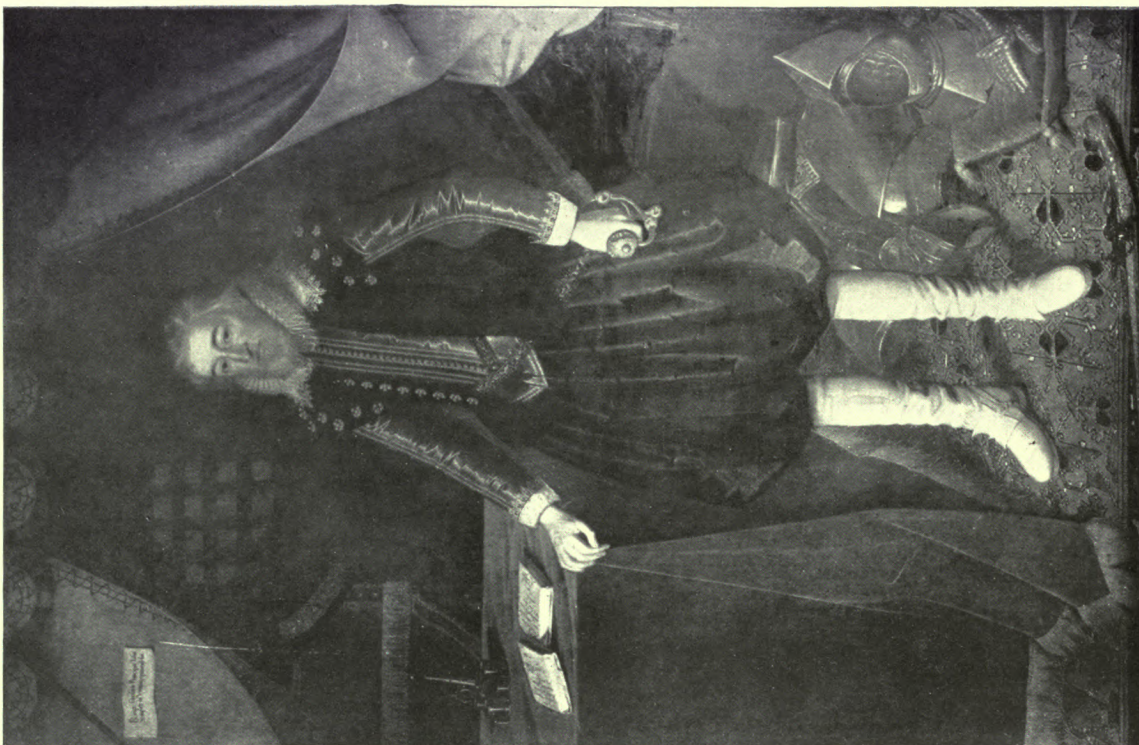
FROM A FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF LUCY HARINGTON,
COUNTRESS OF BEDFORD, IN THE ROYAL GALLERY
OF GRIFSHOLM, STOCKHOLM

From 'Lace as worn in England until the accession of James I', by M. Jourdain, in 'The Burlington Magazine'



(a)

SIR WALTER MILDMA
Emmanuel College, Cambridge



(b)

SIR ANTHONY MILDMA
Emmanuel College, Cambridge

(1) W. L., standing, as a girl ; long white dress and full sleeves ; fair hair flowing on her shoulders, with pearl head-dress ; standing on matting ; on her right a parrot on a perch ; on her left a macaw on a perch ; two small parrots in her hand ; at her feet a monkey and a small dog asleep on a cushion. [Plate XXIII.]

Sometimes called Elizabeth of Bohemia, and possibly Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, when young.

Canvas 61 x 37 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 136).

Reproduced in Henderson's *James I and VI* (Goupil).

(2) Small W. L. ; standing on a turkey carpet ; dark embroidered dress ; open bosom ; high wired ruff ; brown hair with small jewel ; right hand on velvet cushion lying across arms of a chair ; rope of pearls.

Duke of Northumberland, K.G., Syon House.

S. K. M., 1866.

Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, June, 1914.

(3) H. L., standing ; dark dress similar to No. (2) ; hair dressed very high ; right hand on table.

Marquess of Bath, Longleat.

Reproduced in Lodge's *Illustrious Portraits* (folio).

(4) Engraved by J. W. in 1619.

H. L., in oval ; flowered dress ; bare bosom ; high collar ; jewel in her hair ; ropes of pearls ; in her right hand an open book ; inscribed, GRAVE PONDUS ILLA MAXIMA NOBILITAS PREMIO ANN. 1619 ; and 'the Pictuer of the Most Noble and Learned Ladye Arbella Steuart'.

(5) In fancy dress.

W. L., standing in long loose white dress embroidered all over with flowers and birds ; a high conical head-dress, blue and white shoes ; her right hand on the neck of a stag with a garland of flowers round its neck ; Latin inscriptions and a sonnet in English. [Plate XXIV.]

Panel 84 x 54 in.

H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace.

This portrait has usually been accepted as a portrait of Elizabeth and attributed to Zuccaro. It is of later date and evidently belongs to a series of portraits in fancy dress, of which those of Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and Lady Tanfield are rather similar instances. It seems almost certainly to be a portrait of Arbella Stuart.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES (1594-1612), and CHARLES, DUKE OF YORK, afterwards Prince of Wales and King Charles I (1600-49).

Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, elder son of James I and Anne of Denmark, was born at Stirling Castle in 1594, and came with his mother to England in June 1603. He was made K.G. at Windsor the following July. In June 1610, he was created Earl of Chester and Prince of Wales, but died on November 6, 1612. His younger brother, Charles, born at Dunfermline on November 19, 1600, who was physically weak as a child, was not brought to England till 1604, and on January 16, 1605, was created Duke of York. He was made K.G. in 1611, but was not created Prince of Wales until November 3, 1616. The portraits of the two brothers in their boyhood have been the subject of some confusion. Henry was rather handsome, with thick dark auburn hair, brushed and combed back over the crown of his head without any parting at the side. This is shown in the many miniature portraits of him by Isaac Oliver. Charles was fairer, with a heavier, less attractive face, and his hair was brushed more on one side of the head, curling over the ears and with a parting. The difference is well shown in the two portraits

at Ditchley, which from long tradition have been accepted as the portraits of Henry and Charles, and have every appearance of being the work of Marcus Gheeraerts. Other portraits, which appear to be also the work of Gheeraerts, are called Henry, Prince of Wales, but may represent Charles.

HENRY FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES.

(1) W. L., standing on matting ; in robes of the Order of the Bath ; painted in 1605. Inscribed below, DIVITIS INGENII DOMUS HÆC ATQUE HOSPITA QUONDĀ VIRTUTIS SUADÆ QUÆ FUIT AONIDUM.

This portrait corresponds with miniature-portraits by Oliver. It can hardly be a portrait of Charles, who was only five years old in 1605. On the other hand there is no record of Henry having been made K.B., whereas Charles was so created at the coronation of James I in 1604.

Canvas 74 × 50 in.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

Reproduced in *Cat. of Paintings at Ditchley* ; T. F. Henderson's *James I and VI* (Goupil) ; *Burlington Magazine*, March 1914.

(2) W. L., standing on carpet ; in Garter robes ; gold chain to right.

Canvas 79 × 47 in.

Magdalen College, Oxford.

Oxford Historical Portraits Exhibition, No. 103.

(3) W. L., standing in white trunks and tight hose, wearing emblem of the Garter ; a view of a river through a window.

Earl of Craven, Combe Abbey.

S. K. M., 1866, No. 446.

(4) HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES, KILLING A STAG.

The young prince is standing in a wood, drawing his sword, and about to give the *coup de grâce* to a wounded stag, the horns of which are held by a kneeling youth. Behind the prince is his horse held by a groom, and his greyhound seated on the ground. There are two versions of this group :

(a) in which the shield of arms above the kneeling youth indicates that he is of the Harington family. [Plate XXXIV (a).]

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

(b) in which the shield indicates a member of the Devereux family. [Plate XXXIV (b).]

Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, March 1914.

H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace.

This version seems to be the later of the two, and by a different hand.

CHARLES, DUKE OF YORK.

W. L., standing on matting in Garter robes.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

Reproduced in *Cat. of Paintings at Ditchley* ; T. F. Henderson, *James I and VI* (Goupil) ; *Burlington Magazine*, March 1914.

At Hampton Court Palace there is a group of whole-length portraits which represent the immediate near relations of Queen Anne of Denmark, her mother, sisters, nephews and nieces, and appear to have been painted in the years 1608 and 1609. They seem to be the work of Marcus Gheeraerts rather than of Paul van Somer or Mytens. They are usually attributed to the latter. The portraits represent :

SOPHIA OF MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN (1557-1631).

Queen of Frederick II of Denmark and mother of Queen Anne.

Canvas 63½ × 76½ in. (enlarged).



SIR HENRY SAVILE
Bodleian Library, Oxford

(a)



SIR WILLIAM PADDY
St. John's College, Oxford

(b)



ARBELLA STUART

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey

PRINCESS HEDWIG OF DENMARK (1581-1641).

Sister of Queen Anne, afterwards wife of Christian II, Duke of Saxony.

W. L., standing in white farthingale and small white hat.

Canvas 77 × 64 in. (enlarged).

PRINCESS ELIZABETH OF DENMARK (1573-1626).

Sister of Queen Anne; married in 1590 to Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick.

(a) W. L., standing by a table on which is a marmoset.

Canvas 80½ × 52½ (enlarged).

(b) W. L., standing by a table, holding a handkerchief.

Canvas 81 × 54 in. (enlarged).

HENRY JULIUS, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK (1564-1613).

W. L., standing, black dress; right hand on his hip; a large dog by him, and a table with a marmoset on it.

Canvas 81 × 53½ in. (enlarged).

PRINCESS ELIZABETH OF BRUNSWICK (1593-1650).

Married first to August I, Duke of Saxony, second to Johan Philip, Duke of Saxe-Altenburg.

W. L., standing in white dress; hair dressed high. Painted in 1609.

Canvas 73½ × 46⅔ (enlarged).

PRINCESS HEDWIG OF BRUNSWICK (1595-1650).

Married to Ulrich, Duke of Pommern.

W. L., standing in white dress. Painted in 1609.

Canvas 99 × 35 in. (altered).

PRINCESS DOROTHEA OF BRUNSWICK (1598-1643).

Married to Christian William, Margrave of Brandenburg.

W. L., standing in white dress. Painted in 1609.

Canvas 84 × 51⅔ in.

CHRISTIAN, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK (1599-1626).

Known as Bishop of Halberstadt, 1616.

W. L., as a boy in striped trunk hose. Painted in 1609.

Canvas 73½ × 40½ in.

RUDOLPH, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK (1602-1616).

Bishop of Halberstadt, 1615.

W. L., as a boy in white dress with cloak round him. Painted in 1609.

Canvas 83 × 40½ (enlarged).

FREDERICK IV, DUKE OF WURTEMBERG, K.G. (d. 1608).

W. L., standing on marble floor; black dress and hose; right hand on hip.

Canvas 87½ × 43 in.

D. MISCELLANEOUS PORTRAITS.

APSLEY, LUCY, third wife of Sir Allen, with her son, Allen, born in 1616.

W. L., standing on a carpet by green velvet chair, on which stands the child, in an embroidered frock.

Canvas $74 \times 44\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Earl Bathurst, Cirencester.

Ascribed to D. Mytens and reproduced in *Catalogue of the Bathurst Collection*. R. A., 1881.

BEDFORD, EDWARD RUSSELL, 3rd Earl of.

(a) W. L., standing on a carpet in long embroidered gown; right hand in red scarf, left on table; high crowned hat. Dated 1616. [Plate XXXVII (a).]

Canvas 84×51 in.

(b) W. L., seated in red chair on a carpet; brown dress, high crowned hat; arm in a sling with hand covered.

Canvas 84×56 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey.

LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD (1582?-1627).

Among the ladies at Court in the time of Elizabeth and James I no one was more prominent than Lucy Harington, daughter of John, first Lord Harington of Exton, who in 1594 became the wife of Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford. The many portraits of this lady which exist bear out the verses of Ben Jonson, and indicate the 'learned' and 'manly soul' with which he endowed her in addition to her natural feminine charms. The Countess of Bedford appears in the group of Queen Elizabeth at Blackfriars in 1600, as one of the supporters of her cousin, Anne Russell, the bride. A series of remarkable portraits depict her in a strange kind of fancy dress, probably one worn at a masque. Her name does not appear among the dancers before Queen Elizabeth at the masque given to celebrate Anne Russell's wedding, but she took part in the Masque of Blackness performed by Queen Anne and her ladies in 1604. The Countess of Bedford enjoyed the special favour and intimacy of Queen Anne, and was noted for the lavish extravagance of her life.

The fancy-dress portraits at Woburn, Welbeck, and Berkeley Castle are probably all by Marcus Gheeraerts, who painted her husband, the third Earl of Bedford, in 1616. Another portrait of her, now at Grifsholm in Sweden, where it was supposed to represent Queen Elizabeth, shows her in a different dress, and may be by Gheeraerts. Another well-known portrait of her in a black dress, probably a memorial portrait in mourning for her husband, who died a few weeks before she did, of which various versions exist, is more probably by Gerard Honthorst, or perhaps Cornelius Johnson. This portrait and that in Sweden show a different type of face to the portraits in fancy dress at Woburn and Welbeck. The portrait at Woburn resembles very much that of Anne Vavasour at Ditchley [see Plate VIII (b)]. The portraits at Woburn and Welbeck must have been painted at the same date, yet the ladies represented seem to be of a different age.

(1) BEDFORD, LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF (1582-1627).

Daughter of John, Lord Harington of Exton; married, December 1594, to Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford.

W. L., standing; in curious fancy dress; high spiked head-dress, with aigrette; large white striped gauze veil, held by her hands; blue shoes with yellow rosettes, red stockings. [Plate IX (a).]

Reproduced in T. F. Henderson's *James I and VI* (Goupil).

Canvas 84×51 in.

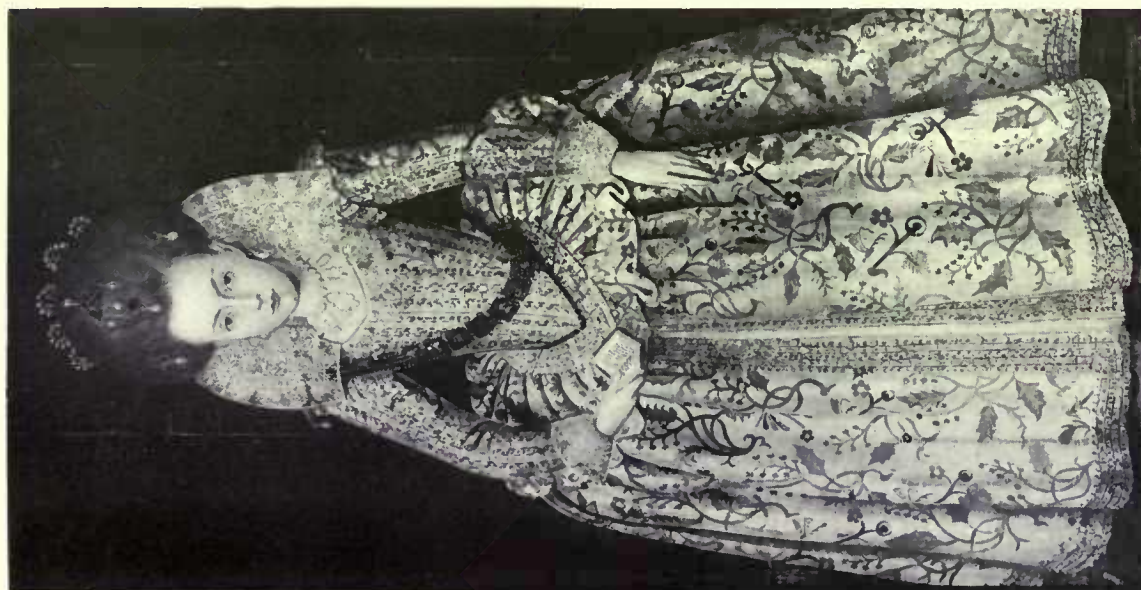
Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 75).



ARBELLA STUART

H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace

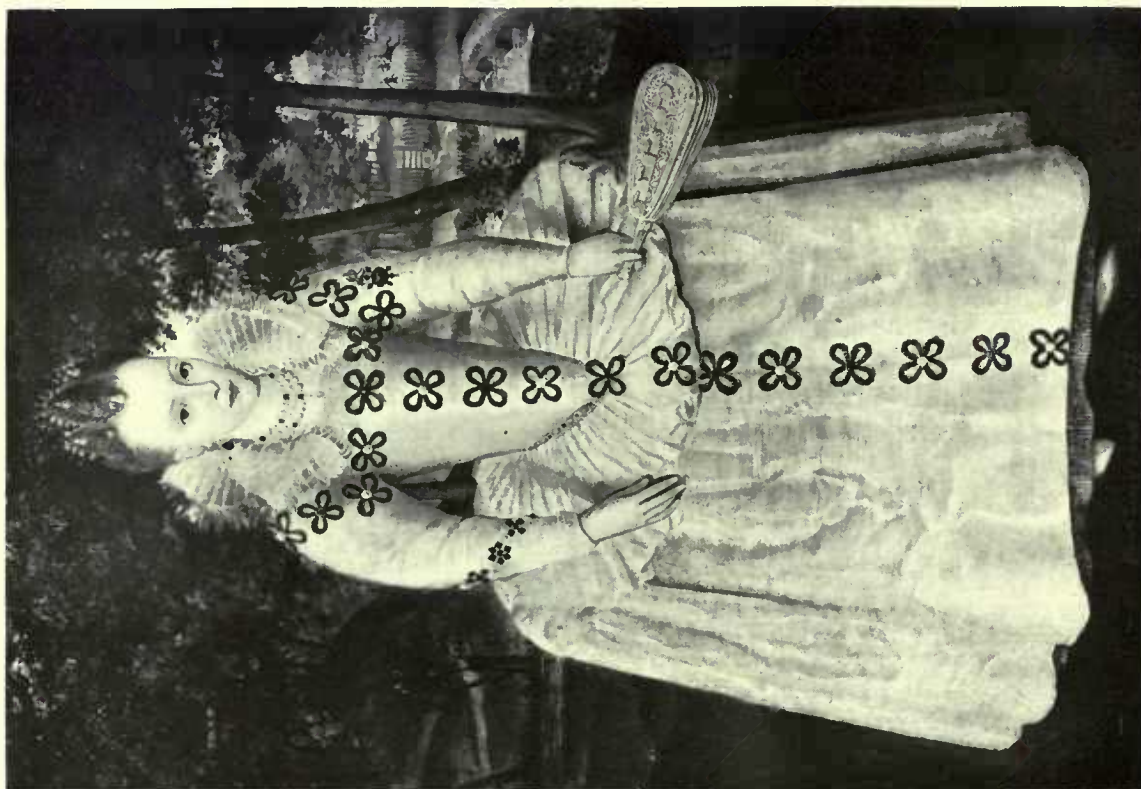
1619



(a)

PRINCESS ELIZABETH (?)

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey



(b)

ELIZABETH OF BOHEMIA (?)

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey

(2) THE SAME.

W. L., standing ; in similar fancy dress ; face slightly different. [Plate IX (b).]
Canvas. *Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey (334).*

(3) THE SAME.

A repetition of the portrait at Welbeck Abbey.
Viscount Fitzhardinge, Berkeley Castle.

(4) THE SAME (?).

An interesting whole-length portrait of a lady with a child, the lady with her hair over her shoulders, evidently in fancy dress, was formerly in the possession of Mr. Alexander Barker, and was lent by him to the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866. It was then called Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, but certainly does not represent her.

S. K. M., 1866, No. 440.

(5) THE SAME.

A portrait of a lady, called Queen Elizabeth, in the royal collection of Sweden, represents Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, as denoted by the shield of arms, which are Harington impaling Kelway. [Plate XX (a).] *Castle of Grifsholm, Stockholm.*

Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. x.

BOWES, SIR JEROME.

W. L., standing on matting. *Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, Charlton.*
S. K. M., 1866, No. 400.

BURGHLEY, WILLIAM CECIL, LORD (1520-1598).

It is probable that Gheeraerts painted more than one portrait of Lord Burghley, who died in 1598, and the well-known portraits of him at Hatfield and at Burghley House have been attributed to Gheeraerts, who could, however, only have painted him in his old age.

(a) T. Q. L., in Garter robes with wand. *Marquess of Exeter, Burghley House.*

Engraved for *Lodge's Portraits*, folio, 1818.

(b) T. Q. L., in Garter robes. *Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield.*

Reproduced as frontispiece to *William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, 1904.

Many copies of these two portraits exist.

CAMDEN, WILLIAM (1551-1623).

Head Master of Westminster, Clarencieux King-at-Arms, and historian ; published *Britannia* 1586, and *Annales* 1615 ; founder of Professorship of History at Oxford. [Plate XL (a).]

(a) Bust, $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 ; in black dress and skull cap ; six lines of Latin verse on a tablet, and two more on the frame ; inscribed *Marcus Gheeraedts pinxit.*

Presented to Oxford University by Prof. Degory Wheare.

Panel $30\frac{1}{4} \times 22$ in.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Oxford Historical Portraits Exhibition, I, No. 124 ; Mrs. Poole's *Cat. of Oxford Portraits*, 80.

(b) A similar portrait.

National Portrait Gallery.

CAREY, ROBERT (1560 ?-1639).

Fourth son of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, cousin of Queen Elizabeth; took news of the Queen's death to James I; created Earl of Monmouth in 1626.

H. L., in black doublet and cloak. Painted in 1596, æt. 33; lent by Mr. D. Laing.

Panel 29 × 24 in.

S. K. M., 1866.

CONINGSBY, SIR THOMAS (d. 1625), and his Dwarf, CRICKIT.

Of Hampton Court, Herefordshire; eminent soldier and friend of Sir Philip Sidney and the Earl of Essex.

W. L., standing on matting; trunks, embroidered hose, and long black boots; black cloak and hat; a walking-cane in his left hand, his right holding the arm of his dwarf, Crickit, who stands by his side, his left foot on the back of a small dog. [Plate XVI (a).]

Inscribed: *Ætatis suæ · 61 · Año Doñ 16012 (sic), and L'Ingratiti e Linno della vita umana.*

Canvas 84 × 48 in.

Earl of Essex, Cassiobury.

S. K. M., 1866.

DERBY, ALICE SPENCER, Countess of.

Daughter of Sir John Spencer and wife of Ferdinando, 14th Earl of Derby.

T. Q. L., standing; black dress; open ruff; black wired hood.

Panel 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 34 in.

H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace.

Another portrait of this same lady, perhaps also by Gheeraerts, was exhibited by the Earl of Derby at the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866, No. 288.

DORSET, THOMAS SACKVILLE, Earl of, K.G. (1536-1608).

Poet and statesman; Lord High Treasurer, 1596.

W. L., in black robes, holding white stave.

Canvas 84 × 62 in.

Lord Sackville, Knole.

S. K. M., 1866.

A T. Q. L. portrait similar to this was also lent to the Tudor Exhibition (No. 263) by Lord Sackville.

DOWNE, WILLIAM POPE, 1st Earl of.

Born 1583; K.B. 1603; created baronet 1611, and Earl of Downe 1628.

(a) W. L., standing under an arch in a courtyard; white doublet, trunk hose, and hat; black stockings and shoes with spurs; scarlet and gold surcoat. [Plate XVIII (a).]

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

(b) H. L.; black dress; red ribbon of K.B. and jewel. [Plate XL A (a).]

Inscribed on back with name, titles and age, and the painter's signature, *Marcus Gherae Brugiensis fecit.*

Given to the College by Henry Kett.

Trinity College, Oxford.

Oxford Historical Exhibition, 1905, No. 8.

(c) H. L., similar to the last.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

ESSEX, ROBERT DEVEREUX, 2nd Earl of, K.G. (1567-1601).

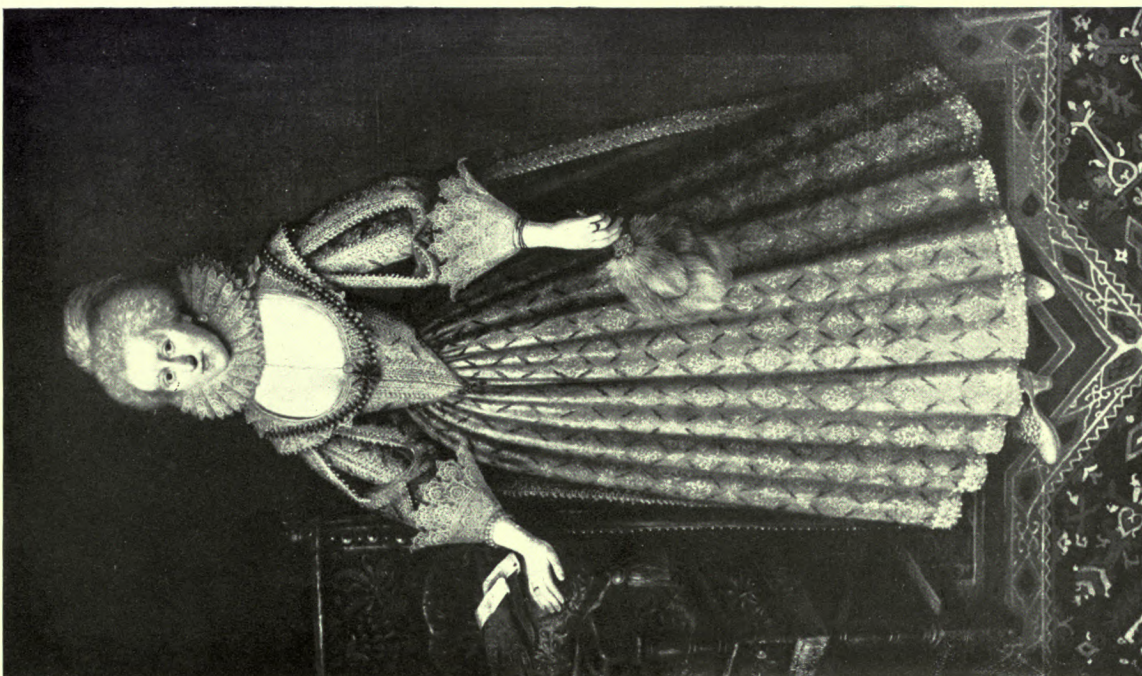
In some ways the portraiture of the young Elizabethan courtier at the close of the sixteenth century seems to centre itself about the Queen's favourite, the brilliant but ill-starred Earl of Essex. As the leading figure at court Essex gathered round him the young, ambitious, and adventurous among the aristocracy. Courtier, soldier, naval



(a)

ROBERT, 1ST LORD SPENCER

Earl Spencer, K.G., Allthorp



(b)

MARGARET WILLOUGHBY (?), LADY SPENCER

Earl Spencer, K.G., Allthorp



WILLIAM AND ROBERT SIDNEY

Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place

Born 1554
1586

adventurer, Essex furnished all the setting for a romantic career. We find, therefore, a series of portraits of young men, all obviously in the same set, some of whom survived, some went under in the shipwreck of Essex's fortunes. Of these were Southampton, Sussex, Rutland, Thomas Lee, Roger North, and others who will be noted elsewhere in this list. The portraits belong to one painter, or school of painters, and that the school of Marcus Gheeraerts.

The typical portrait of Essex is the whole-length portrait at Woburn Abbey, where he stands bare-headed, dressed in white with large ruff and steel gorget; he holds a bâton of command in his right hand, and his left is on the hilt of his sword. He stands in a rich wooded landscape with a view of the seashore and breaking waves. [Plate XII (a).]
Canvas 84 x 50 in.

Many portraits of this type exist in different sizes, notably a three-quarter length at Althorp and another at Gorhambury. The number of these portraits testifies to the great impression made by the execution of Essex, and the popular reaction in his favour. A whole-length portrait of the Earl of Essex in Garter robes belongs to Viscount Dillon at Ditchley (canvas 86 x 54 in.). As this appears to have been painted at the same time as that of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., who was not made a Knight of the Garter till 1597, it was probably painted by Marcus Gheeraerts not earlier than 1598. [Plate XVII (a).]

ESSEX, FRANCES HOWARD, Countess of.

Notorious for her divorce from Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, and her re-marriage with Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

W. L., standing on a turkey carpet; left hand on crimson cushion across the arms of a chair; green satin dress mantle lined with flowered white silk; yellow feather fan hanging from her waist; gloves on the cushion. Painted in 1618.
Canvas. *Capt. Hubert L. Butler.*

Formerly at Blenheim Palace, and in the collection of Mr. Charles Butler.

Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, June 1914.

THE SAME (?).

W. L., standing on carpet; purple satin bodice, sleeves and petticoat embroidered with flowers; apple-green satin mantle with flowered pattern; open bosom, surmounted by lace work; a handkerchief in her right hand, her left on a table. [Plate XXX (a).]
Canvas 80 x 48 in. *Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey.*

Though a contemporary portrait, this does not seem to be a portrait of Frances, Countess of Essex.

EXETER, THOMAS CECIL, FIRST EARL OF, K.G. (1542-1622).

Elder son of Lord Burghley; created Earl of Exeter, 1604.

W. L., standing on a carpet in black dress cloak and high-crowned felt hat; large circular ruff, yellow gloves; right hand on a walking-cane; insignia of the Garter. Painted in 1612. [Plate XXXVIII (a).]

Canvas 84 x 50 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey.

GHEERAERTS, MARCUS, THE YOUNGER (1561-1636).

His own portrait, painted by himself in 1627, and etched by Wenzel Hollar in 1644. Inscribed: 'Marcus Garrardus Pictor, Illustrissimis & Serenissimis Principibus Beatæ Memoræ Elizabethæ & Annæ Magnæ Britannæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ Reginis Servus & Præstantissimo Artifici Marco Garrardo Brugensis Flandriæ filius ubi natus erat. Obiit Londini January 19. Anno Domini 1635. Ætatisque suæ 74.' [Plate XLA (b).]

HARRIS, SIR WILLIAM.

HARRIS, LADY.

Probably Sir William Harris of Shenfield, Essex, and Frances Astley, his wife, whose daughter, Frances, married Oliver Raymond of Walter Belchamp; companion portraits lent to the National Portrait Exhibition in 1866 (Nos. 364, 374) by the Rev. J. M. St. Clere Raymond of Belchamp.

Hoby, ELIZABETH, LADY (LADY RUSSELL).

Daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke and sister of Lady Burghley; married, first, Sir Thomas Hoby (d. 1566), secondly, John, Lord Russell; died 1609, buried at Bisham Abbey. Mother of Anne Russell, Lady Herbert.

W. L. to l., standing on a carpet; black dress with white lace streamers, bodice and cuffs; cap and band.

Canvas 79 × 43½ in.

H. Vansittart Neale, Esq., Bisham Abbey.

Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 359.

HOWARD, LORD WILLIAM (1563-1640).

Second son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and Margaret Audley of Naworth Castle.

W. L., standing in black dress.

Earl of Carlisle, Naworth Castle.

S. K. M., 1866, No. 405.

KENNEDY, ELIZABETH BRYDGES, LADY (1575-1617).

Daughter of Giles Brydges, Lord Chandos, and wife of Sir John Kennedy of Barn Elms; maid-of-honour to Queen Elizabeth.

(a) H. L., standing in white satin dress; puffed sleeves with estoiles of pearls; large lace ruff; arched head-dress; sprig of pansies in right hand.

Panel 44 × 34 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 69).

(b) W. L., standing on a carpet; white dress embroidered with flowers; crimson velvet mantle; high collar, lace head-dress, wired purple gauze veil; green curtains showing a garden scene with a courtier saluting ladies. [Plate XXXIII (b).]

Canvas 79½ × 47 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 70).

KENNEDY, SIR JOHN.

Of Barn Elms; married Elizabeth Brydges, sister to Katherine, Countess of Bedford; knighted 1603.

W. L., standing on black and white squared marble floor; black and gold dress; Spanish gold-embroidered cloak over left arm; high-crowned hat in left hand; right on hip with upturned thumb; wired ruff; view of a passage behind with a portrait partially covered by a curtain. Painted in 1614.

Canvas 78½ × 45½ in. [Plate XXXIII (a).] *Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 67).*

This is not so certainly the work of Marcus Gheeraerts.

KNIGHTLEY, ELIZABETH SEYMOUR, LADY (d. 1602).

Youngest daughter of Edward Seymour, first Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, and wife of Sir Richard Knightley, of Fawsley.

T. Q. L., black velvet gown with hooped skirt and wired sleeves; grey brocade



WILLIAM AND THOMAS POPE

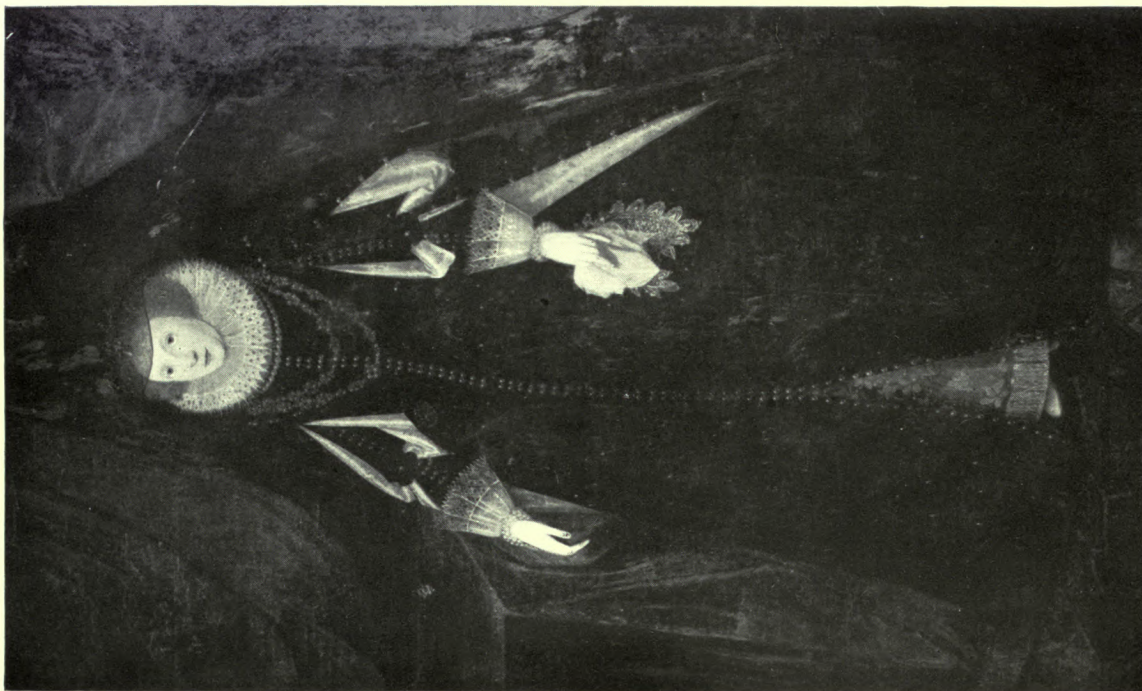
Lord North, Wroxton Abbey



(a)

ANNE WORTLEY, LADY MORTON

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley



(b)

ELEANOR WORTLEY, COUNTESS OF SUSSEX

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley

stomacher; jewels and watch on dress; a feather fan in her right hand; black cap; a phoenix in diamonds on her right shoulder. Purchased in 1776.

Panel $35\frac{1}{2} \times 30$ in.

Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle.

Reproduced in Lady Radnor and W. B. Squire's *Catalogue of Pictures at Longford Castle*, No. 168.

LEE, SIR HENRY, K.G. (1531-1611).

W. L., standing in Garter robes; right hand on walking-cane, left on hilt of sword; inscribed: FIDE ET CONSTANTIA and ÆTATIS SUÆ 71 ANNO DOM. 1602. [Plate XVII (b).]

Canvas 86×54 in.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

The well-known portrait of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., also at Ditchley, with his hand on the head of his mastiff dog, Bevis (canvas 48×36 in.), has also been ascribed to Marcus Gheeraerts, but does not seem to be by the same hand as the portrait in Garter robes.

LEE, CAPT. THOMAS (1551-1601).

Cousin to Sir Henry Lee; served under Essex in Ireland; executed 1601.

W. L., standing in a wood, legs bare to the hip; laced and embroidered shirt gathered up on hips, and open at the breast; helmet on his arm, shield slung over his back; spear in right hand, pistol attached to waist-belt. [Plate XII (b).]

Inscribed: ÆTATIS SUÆ 43 · A^{no} Dⁱ 1594, and FACERE ET PATI FORTIA.

Canvas 98×62 in.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

S. K. M., 1868, No. 631.

LEICESTER, ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF, K.G. (?).

W. L. figures of a military commander in gold and white dress, wearing badge and order of the Garter, holding a halberd, with his son (or page) holding a helmet, both standing outside a tent. [Plate XIV (b).]

This interesting portrait group, although called the Earl of Leicester, cannot possibly represent him, and more probably represents his step-son, Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, K.G.

Marquess of Bath, Longleat.

S. K. M., 1866, No. 241.

LEICESTER, ROBERT SIDNEY, EARL OF (1563-1626).

Brother to Sir Philip Sidney; as Sir Robert Sidney commanded the English forces in the Netherlands; created Viscount Lisle 1605, K.G. 1616, and Earl of Leicester 1618; buried at Penshurst.

W. L., standing on a carpet in Garter robes. Painted in 1616.

Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place.

LEIGH, SIR FRANCIS.

Son of Sir William Leigh and Frances, daughter of Sir James Harington, K.B.

W. L., standing on matting by a table; black dress and cloak, slashed doublet and sleeves; gloves in right hand; bare head; large rosettes at knees and on shoes; a dog at his feet.

Lord Leigh, Stoneleigh Abbey.

LEIGH, MARY EGERTON, LADY.

Daughter of Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor, and wife of Sir Francis Leigh, K.B.

W. L., standing on matting by a table; black dress; wide slashed sleeves tied at the elbows; a folding fan in her left hand. *Lord Leigh, Stoneleigh Abbey.*

These two portraits are reproduced in *Lely and the Stuart Portrait-Painters*, by Mr. Collins Baker, who attributes them to George Geldorp. The hands and general pose rather suggest the school of Marcus Gheeraerts and possibly Gilbert Jackson.

LOVELACE, SIR WILLIAM (d. 1629), of Bethersden; knighted 1599.

T. Q. L., left hand on sword-hilt.

Panel $41\frac{3}{4} \times 31\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Cartwright Collection, Dulwich Gallery.

MILDMAY, SIR WALTER (1520 ?-1589).

Chancellor of the Exchequer and founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1584; buried in St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield; of Apethorpe, Northants.

W. L., standing on matting, black dress and gown, small tight-fitting ruff, black cap; right hand on a book placed edgewise on a table; through a window a view of Apethorpe Hall. [Plate XXI (a).]

Painted in 1588 in his 66th year.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

MILDMAY, SIR ANTHONY (d. 1617).

Knighted 1596; ambassador to King Henry IV of France, 1596-8; died and buried at Apethorpe.

W. L., standing on a carpet; wide loose trunks; white boots; gold brocade doublet; black surcoat; rough fair hair and beard; right hand on a table on which are two books with writing on their covers and an inkstand; armour in a heap on the floor to his left; large chair and a prison window in the background. On a label: *Reip. Gaulæ Principis Jussu Semper in utrumque paratus fui.* [Plate XXI (b).]

Canvas 84×56 in.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 422.

MONTAGU, SIR EDWARD (1532-1602), of Boughton; knighted 1567.

W. L., standing before a chair of state; black and gold dress and cloak; black hat; grey beard and moustache. [Plate XXXI (a).]

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

MONTAGU, ELIZABETH HARINGTON, LADY (d. 1618).

Daughter of Sir James Harington of Exton; wife of Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton.

W. L., standing on a carpet; black and richly embroidered dress; heavy chain round her shoulders; her left hand on a cushion across the arms of a chair. [Plate XXXI (b).]

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

MONTAGU, MARY WHITMORE, LADY (1575-1652).

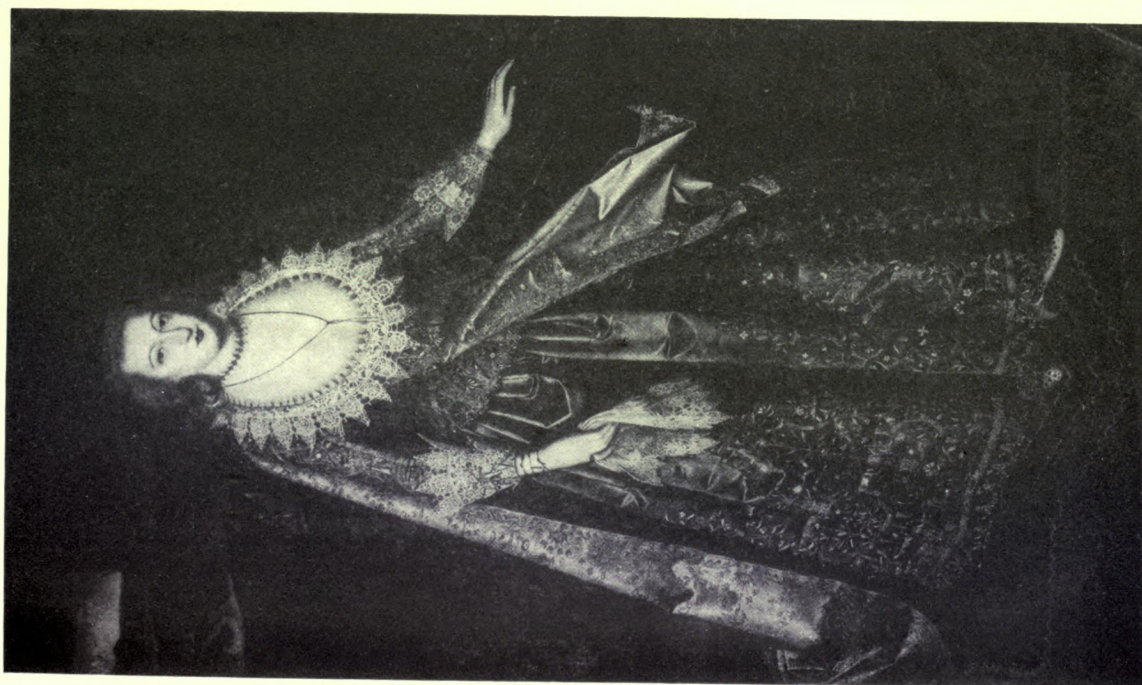
Daughter of Sir William Whitmore of London, and wife of Sir Charles Montagu of Cranbrook; their daughter Anne married Dudley, fourth Lord North.

W. L., standing on matting; black dress, several heavy gold chains; large white feather fan in her hand; high open ruff. [Plate XVIII (b).]

Partially reproduced by Collins Baker, *Lely and Stuart Portrait-Painters*, as by D. Mytens.

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.



(a)

FRANCES HOWARD, COUNTESS OF ESSEX (?)

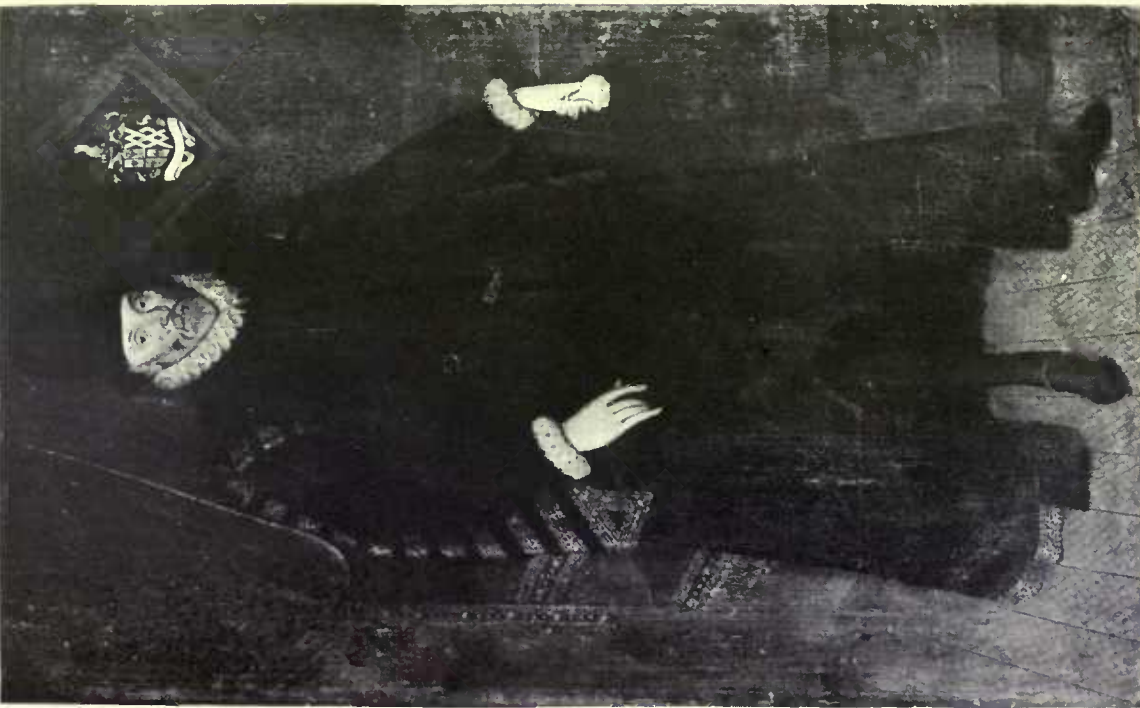
Duke of Portland, K. G., Welbeck Abbey



(b)

ELIZABETH, LADY TANFIELD

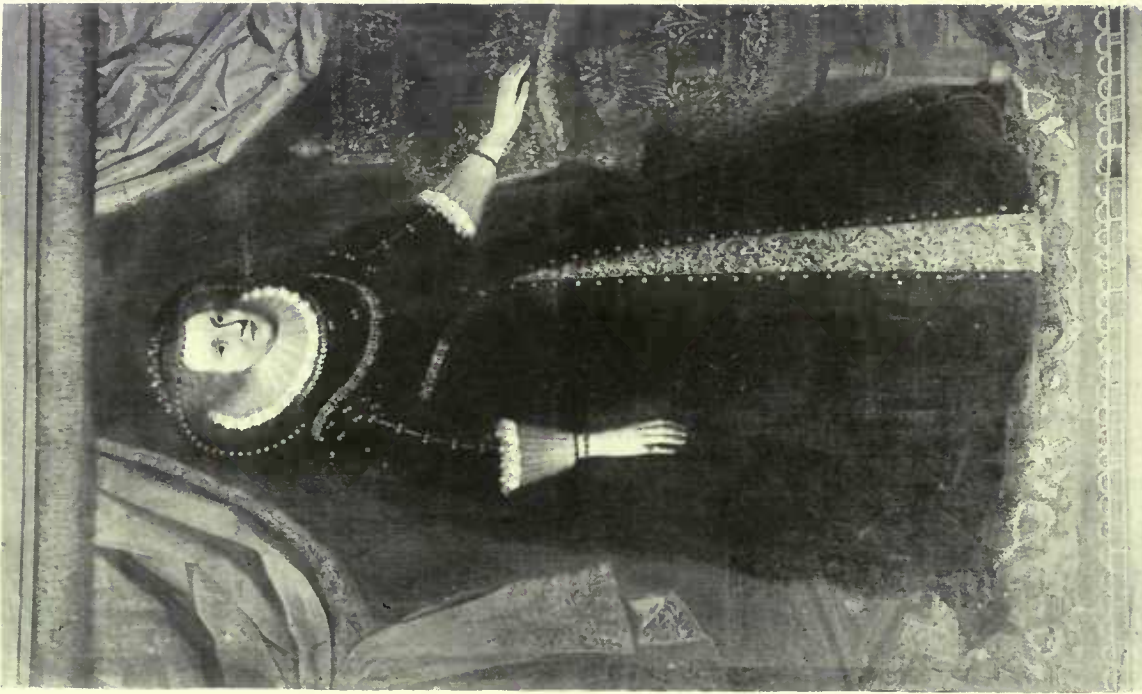
Viscount Dillon, Ditchley



(a)

SIR EDWARD MONTAGU

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey



(b)

ELIZABETH HARINGTON, LADY MONTAGU

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey

MORTON, ANNE, LADY.

Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Wortley, married first to Sir Rotheram Willoughby, secondly to Sir George Morton.

W. L., standing on matting; in farthingale with rich embroideries, and painted stomacher; circular ruff and bare bosom; blue wired veil; left hand holding handkerchief. [Plate XXIX (a).]

Canvas 81 x 50 in.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

Manchester Exhibition, 1857, No. 22; S. K. M., 1868, No. 673; R. A., 1902, No. 163.

MULGRAVE, EDMUND SHEFFIELD, EARL OF, K.G. See LEICESTER.

NEWCASTLE, ELIZABETH BASSETT, DUCHESS OF (b. 1599).

Daughter of William Bassett of Blore and wife of William Cavendish, Lord Ogle, afterwards first Duke of Newcastle.

W. L., standing on a carpet; black dress with orange-red bows and rosette; right hand gloved and holding other glove; feather fan on table to right. Painted in 1624.

Canvas 87½ x 54 in.

Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey.

Manchester, 1857, No. 40.

Reproduced in the Welbeck Abbey Catalogue and by Collins Baker in *Lely and the Stuart Portrait-Painters*, and ascribed by tradition to D. Mytens. The hands, &c., rather indicate the School of Marcus Gheeraerts and perhaps Gilbert Jackson.

NORTH, ROGER, SECOND LORD (1530-1600).

Ambassador to France; distinguished in the war in the Netherlands and at the battle of Zutphen; Treasurer of the Household, 1596.

(a) W. L., standing on a pavement under an archway; black dress, breeches, and hose; wide cape on shoulders; wand in his hand; grey hair. Painted in 1596, but apparently not by Marcus Gheeraerts.

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

(b) A similar portrait.

Earl of Guilford, Waldershare.

NORTH, ROGER (?).

W. L., standing; short dark hair and youthful face, no beard or moustache, circular ruff; in armour, grey-figured silk hose, white stockings, white shoes; pink scarf tied round his left arm, stated to be 'put there by the Queen after a tournament'; a plumed helmet and breastplate on a table. [Plate XV (a).]

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

This interesting portrait, which must have been painted about 1594-1600, cannot represent the foregoing Roger, Lord North. It cannot, also, be a portrait of his grandson, Roger North, the navigator. It probably represents Sir Henry North, of Mildenhall, youngest son of Roger, Lord North, who fought in Ireland, and in the Netherlands under Leicester.

NORTH, DUDLEY, THIRD LORD (1582-1666).

Son of Sir John North, and grandson of Roger, second Lord North; married Frances Brocket.

W. L., standing on parquet floor; youthful face, black and silver embroidered dress, with skirt; black and silver hose; and rosettes on shoes.

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

Reproduced by Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait-Painters*, as by Cornelius Johnson, or it may be by Blyenberg.

NORTH, SIR JOHN (d. 1597).

Son of Roger, second Lord North, and Winifred, Lady Dudley, killed in the Netherlands.

Bust: white doublet and close ruff.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

NORTH, DOROTHY DALE, LADY.

Daughter of Sir Valentine Dale, and wife of Sir John North.

H. L., silver brocade dress with large black disks and bunches of pearls; lace ruff and cap, jewelled cuffs, jewelled band on arm; ropes of pearls round her body; left hand holding a fan. [Plate XX (b).]

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

OVERBURY, SIR THOMAS (1581-1613).

Of Barton, Warwickshire. The victim of the Earl and Countess of Somerset.

(a) Bust: bare head, smooth face, white spotted doublet, cambric collar. [Plate XXXIX (a).]

Panel 18 x 14 in.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

S. K. M., 1868, No. 678.

Reproduced in T. F. Henderson's *James I and VI* (Goupil).

(b) To waist in oval; black dress and cloak; large wired lace collar. [Plate XXXIX (b).]

Panel 29½ x 24½ in.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Oxford Historical Portraits Exhibition, 1904, No. 106.

Harding's *Biog. Mirror*, ii. 57; Mrs. Poole, *Cat. of Oxford Historical Portraits*, No. 30.

These two portraits evidently represent the same man at different ages, but do not seem to be the work of the same hand.

OWEN, URSULA, LADY, AND CHILD.

Daughter of William Elkin of London, and wife of Sir Roger Owen of Conover, M.P.

W. L. standing figures.

S. K. M., 1866, No. 379; lent by Mr. R. Cholmondeley of Conover.

PADDY, SIR WILLIAM.

Physician to James I; knighted 1603; President of the College of Physicians; entertained Queen Elizabeth at Blackfriars in 1600.

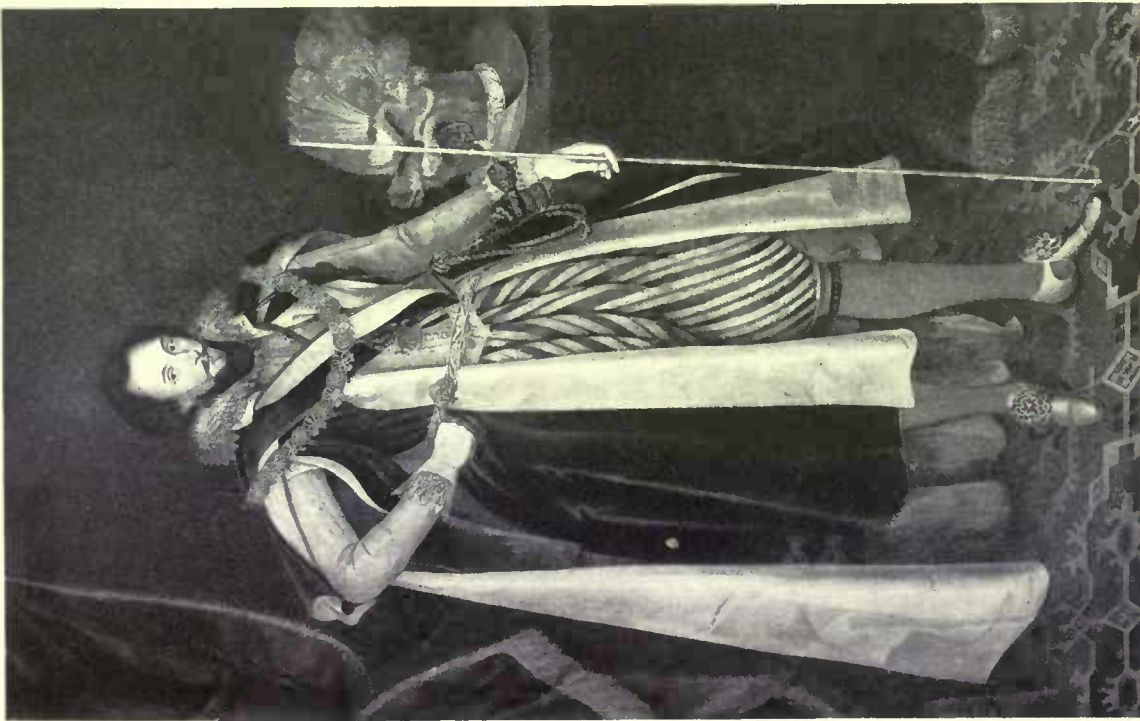
W. L., standing on matting by a table on which is a watch, an inkstand, and an illustrated book on anatomy; black dress, hose, and cloak; high black hat. [Plate XXII (b).]

Painted in 1600, aged 46.

Panel 83 x 51 in.

St. John's College, Oxford.

Oxford Historical Portraits Exhibition, 1904, No. 136.



(a) LODOWICK STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX, K.G.
Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(b) FRANCIS MANNERS, 6TH EARL OF RUTLAND, K.G.
Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(a)

SIR JOHN KENNEDY

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(b)

ELIZABETH BRYDGES, LADY KENNEDY

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey

PEMBROKE, MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF (1555?-1621).

Sister of Sir Philip Sidney, married in 1577 to Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke; buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

The portraits of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, are hard to identify with certainty.

(a) H. L., seated in black dress. [Plate XXXV (a).]

Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place.

This seems to be the genuine portrait.

(b) T. Q. L., seated in lace cap and flowered dress; inscribed 'No spring till now', and dated 12 March, 1614. [Plate XXXV (b).]

National Portrait Gallery.

This is usually accepted as a portrait of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, but the face is not quite the same as in the Penshurst portrait.

(c) (?) W. L., standing, holding an arch-lute. [Plate XXXVI (b).]

Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place.

Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, June 1914.

This portrait, which appears to be the work of Marcus Gheeraerts, is usually called Lady Mary Sidney, mother of Sir Philip Sidney, which is quite impossible. It belongs to the early years of the seventeenth century, and therefore can hardly represent Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, who would be fifty years or more; perhaps it represents one of the daughters of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester.

POPE, WILLIAM (1596-1624), and THOMAS POPE (afterwards 3rd Earl of Downe).

W. L., as boys standing, hand in hand, on a squared marble floor; stiff white pinked trunk hose and jerkins; plain broad wired collars; bare heads. [Plate XXVIII.]

Canvas.

Lord North, Wroxton Abbey.

RALEGH, SIR WALTER (1552-1618).

The eminent courtier, explorer, and historian.

(a) W. L., white and scarlet dress; scarlet garters and rosettes; brown trunk hose; sash and ruff.

S. K. M., 1866.

This portrait has been frequently copied.

Marquess of Bath, Longleat.

(b) W. L., standing, to l., with his son; white and silver doublet, trunks and hose; brown jerkin embroidered with pearls; leather stocks over knees; buff shoes; black hat with jewel and aigrette; and his son, also standing, in blue doublet, trunks and hose, laced with silver. [Plate XVI (b).]

Painted in 1602.

Sir Henry Farnaby Lennard, Bart., Wickham Court.

RICHMOND AND LENOX, FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF (1578-1639).

Daughter of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, married first to Henry Brannell, a vintner in London; secondly, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; and thirdly, Lodovick Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, K.G. Buried in Westminster Abbey.

(a) W. L., standing on a carpet in fantastic red and gold dress.

Earl of Darnley, Cobham Hall.

(b) W. L., standing on carpet.

Lord Tollemache, Peckforton.

Formerly at Strawberry Hill.

(c) Engraved portrait by William Van de Passe, 1623.

(d) Engraved portrait by Francis Delaram, 1623.

The portraits of this lady are sometimes confused with those of Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, and afterwards of Somerset.

RICHMOND AND LENOX, LODOVICK, DUKE OF, K.G.

Son of Esme, Duke of Lenox, and cousin of James I.

W. L., standing on a carpet; in Garter robes; striped trunk hose, wired collar; bare head; white stave in left hand; hat of the Garter on table to left, right arm akimbo on hip. [Plate XXXII (a).] Painted in 1608.

Canvas 84 × 52 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey.

Reproduced in T. F. Henderson's *James I and VI* (Goupil).

There are other portraits of the Duke of Richmond painted by Mytens or by Van Somer, to whom this portrait was ascribed by Sir G. Scharf.

RUSSELL, WILLIAM (d. 1654).

Of Chippenham; Treasurer of the Navy; created a Baronet 1630.

W. L., standing on matting; in official robes, hand resting on a table on which are his hat and papers; embroidered gloves in left hand. Painted in 1625. [Plate XXXVII (b).]

Canvas 77 × 42 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 138).

RUSSELL, ELIZABETH CHERRY, LADY.

Daughter of Sir Francis Cherry, and wife of William Russell of Chippenham.

W. L., standing on a carpet, by high-backed chair, hand resting on a red cushion; lying across the arms of the chair; rich and elaborate dress; long black veil; gauze apron; white glove in right hand, another on the chair with a psalm-book. [Plate XXXVI (a).]

Painted in 1625; signed on middle of the chair, *Marcus Gheeraerts Fec.*; on the back of the canvas, *Marc Garrard 1625*.

Canvas 77 × 42 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 139).

Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, June 1914.

RUTLAND, FRANCIS MANNERS, SIXTH EARL OF, K.G. (1588-1632).

Succeeded his brother 1612; admiral of the fleet; elected K.G. 1616.

W. L., standing on a carpet in front of a blue embroidered tent; white dress, black gorget; flat wired lace collar; scarlet trunks and button gaiters; jewel and ribbon of Garter; helmet and bâton on a table. Painted in 1614. [Plate XXXII (b).]

Canvas 84 × 50 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 76).

RUTLAND, ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF.

W. L. to r.; white embroidered bodice, black and gold embroidered skirt; crimson and silver embroidered mantle and sleeves; gauze veil; right arm on table holding a folding fan.

Canvas 79 × 48 in.

Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle.

Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 341.



(a)

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES, AND JOHN HARINGTON
Lord North, Wroxton Abbey



(b)

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES, AND ROBERT DEVEREUX
H.M. the King, Hampton Court Palace



(a)

MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Pinshurst Place



(b)

MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

National Portrait Gallery

SALISBURY, ROBERT CECIL, FIRST EARL OF (1563-1612), Secretary of State.

W. L., standing on pavement by a table; bare head; black dress; holding jewel of Garter in left hand; wand of office behind him; bell and a letter on the table. [Plate XXXVIII (b).]

Canvas 85 x 20 in.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey (S. 52).

Originally belonged to Malone; see Naunton's *Regalia* (1797), p. 164.

Although this and the companion portrait of the Earl of Exeter seem to belong to the series painted by Marcus Gheeraerts, it must be noted that in the Hatfield papers are accounts of payments by the first Earl of Salisbury to John de Critz for various portraits of himself and other persons.

SAVILE, SIR HENRY (1549-1622).

Tutor in Greek and Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth; Warden at Merton, 1585; Dean of Carlisle, 1595; Provost of Eton, 1596; knighted, 1604.

(a) W. L., standing on matting before a high-backed, gold-fringed chair; gloves in right hand, left on a book lying on a table, on which is his hat and a paper inscribed, 'Illustri viro Domino Henrico Savillio et Domino et Amico nostro colendo Londinum'; black dress, hose, and cloak; short grey head and skull cap. [Plate XXI (a).]

Given by Lady Savile in 1622.

Formerly inscribed at the back:

Memoriæ charissimi
Mariti Margareta Savilia
Uxor ejus consecravit
Aetatis suæ 72
Anno D^o 1621

Marcus Garret fecit.

Canvas 86 x 50 in.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Mrs. Poole's *Catalogue of Oxford Historical Portraits*, No. 79.

(b) Do. a similar portrait; painted in 1621.

Canvas 81 x 48 in.

Provost's Lodge, Eton College.

(c) Copy, T. Q. only.

Merton College, Oxford.

Oxford Historical Portraits Exhibition, I, No. 123.

SHREWSBURY, MARY CAVENDISH, COUNTESS OF.

Daughter of Sir William Cavendish and 'Bess of Hardwick', and wife of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury.

H. L.

St. John's College, Cambridge.

S. K. M., 1866.

SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP (?) (1554-1586).

W. L., standing on a marble pavement by a table on which lies his hat; red doublet and breeches, black cloak; wide circular ruff; in the background two courtiers in conversation. [Plate XV (b).]

Canvas.

Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place.

This portrait has never been satisfactorily identified. It resembles Sir Philip Sidney more than any other member of his family, especially the engraving in the *Heroologia Anglicana* and the portrait at Blickling. The ascription to Gheeraerts is possible but uncertain.

SIDNEY, WILLIAM (d. 1613) and ROBERT (1595-1677).

The two sons of Sir Robert Sidney and Barbara Gamage [see Plate X]. The elder, Sir William Sidney, died unmarried in 1613; the younger, Robert, succeeded his father as second Earl of Leicester.

W. L., standing on matting, in exactly similar dress; crimson balloon trunks, white hose and doublet; flat collars, black shoes with rosettes; bare heads; a plumed hat and a table behind. [Plate XXVII.]

Canvas.

Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place.

These boys are usually described in error as Sir Philip Sidney and his brother.

SOUTHAMPTON, HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, THIRD EARL OF (1573-1624).

Statesman and courtier; friend and adherent of Essex; patron of Shakespeare; confined twice in the Tower.

(a) W. L., standing on a marble floor; white satin doublet, white and gold trunks and hose; white stockings with purple garters and black shoes; gorget, red and gold embroidered sword-belt; cuirass on ground to left; helmet on table to right; light brown hair with long lovelock over left shoulder. [Plate XIV (a).]

Canvas 81 x 47 in.

Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey.

Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 386.

Reproduced by Collins Baker in *Lely and the Stuart Portrait-Painters* as by Paul Van Somer.

(b) H. L., in the Tower with a cat; perhaps but not certainly by the same painter.

Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey.

(c) W. L., in a similar white and silver dress.

This, although exhibited as a portrait of Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton, does not seem to represent the same person as (a).

Shakespeare Memorial Gallery, Stratford-upon-Avon.

SOUTHAMPTON, ELIZABETH VERNON, COUNTESS OF.

Daughter of John Vernon of Hodnet, married in 1598 Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton.

T. Q. L., seated in large arm-chair; rich full skirt embroidered with flowers and flames; a large jewel, and a miniature-box pinned to her bodice; circular ruff, lace cap; feather fan in left hand. [Plate XIX.]

Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey.

Reproduced by Collins Baker in *Lely and the Stuart Portrait-Painters* as by Cornelius Johnson. The general treatment, accessories, &c., denote Marcus Gheeraerts or his school.

SPENCER, ROBERT, FIRST BARON (d. 1627).

Entertained Queen Anne and Prince Henry at Althorp in 1603; created a peer the same year.

W. L., standing on matting in peer's robes; a high-crowned hat on a chair behind; inscribed *Dieu Defende Le Droit*. [Plate XXVI (a).]

Earl Spencer, K.G., Althorp.

SPENCER, MARGARET WILLOUGHBY, LADY (?) (d. 1597).

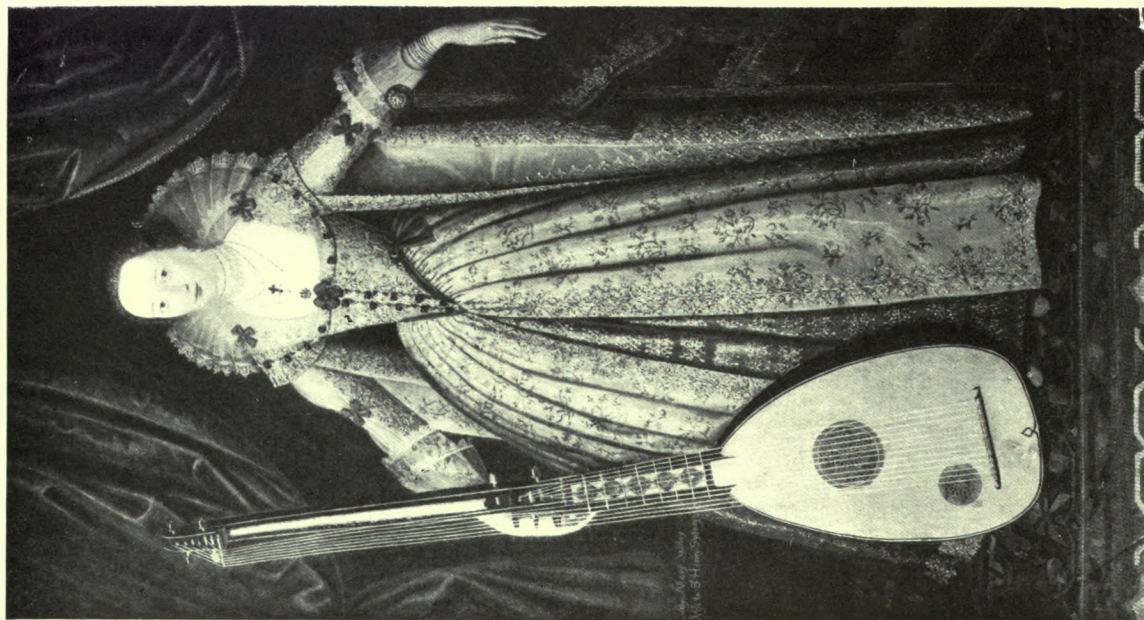
Daughter of Sir Francis Willoughby and wife of Sir Robert Spencer, afterwards Lord Spencer.



(a)

ELIZABETH CHERRY, LADY RUSSELL.

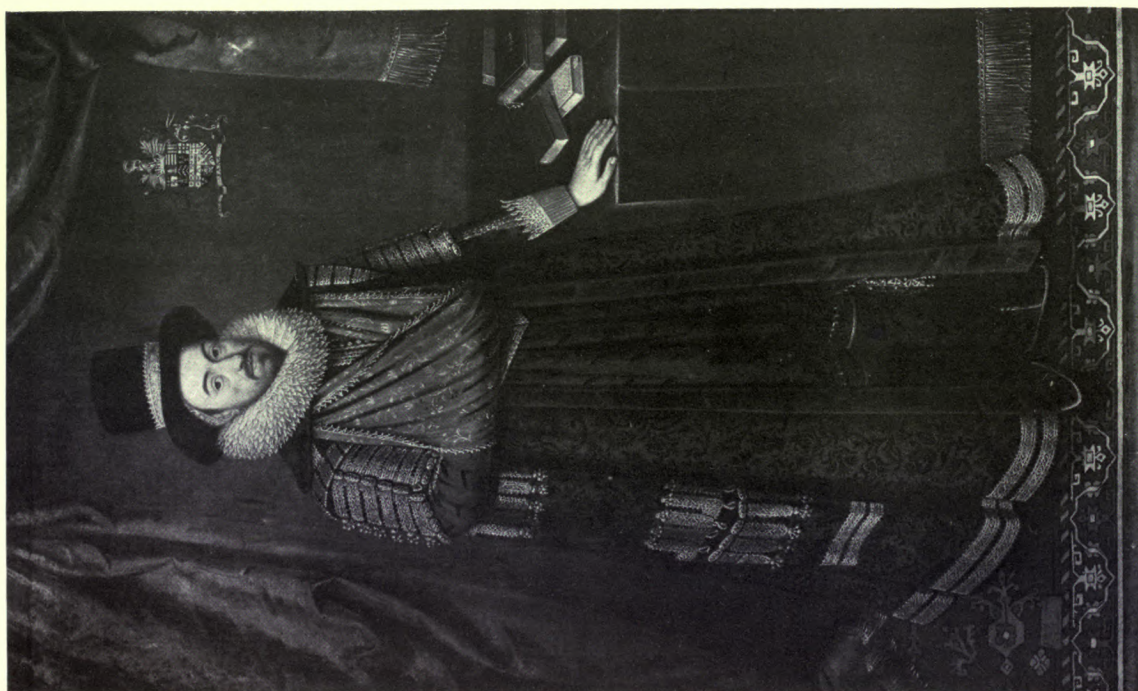
Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(b)

MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE (?)

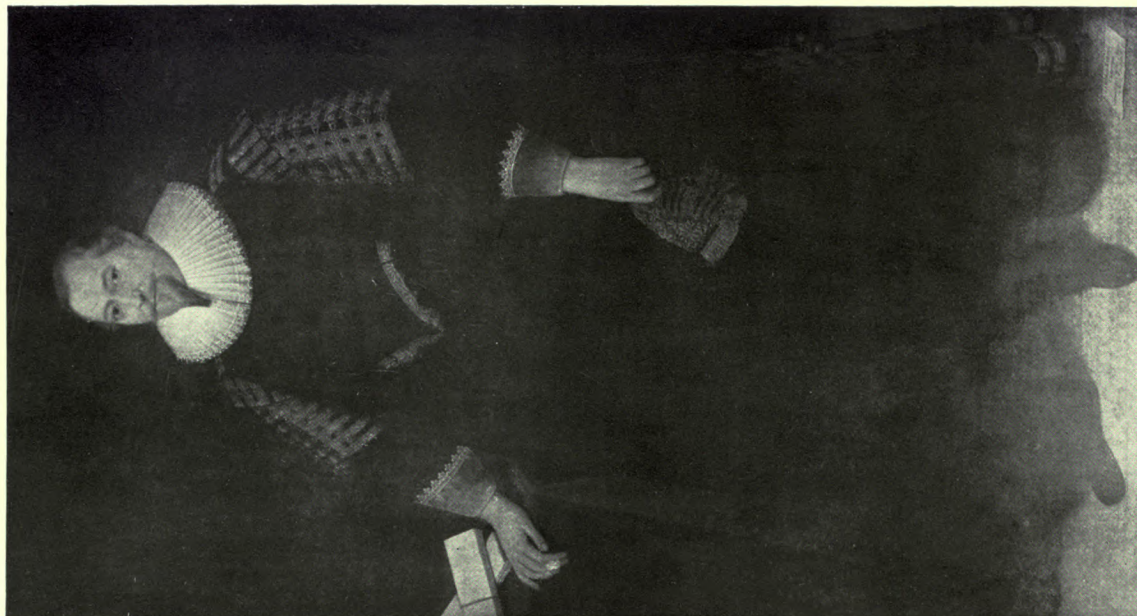
Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Penshurst Place



(a)

EDWARD RUSSELL, 3RD EARL OF BEDFORD

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(b)

SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL OF CHIPPENHAM, BART.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(a)

THOMAS CECIL, 1ST EARL OF EXETER, K.G.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



(b)

ROBERT CECIL, 1ST EARL OF SALISBURY, K.G.

Duke of Bedford, K.G., Woburn Abbey



AMBASSADORS' CONFERENCE AT SOMERSET HOUSE, 1608. ATTRIBUTED TO MARCUS GHEERAERTS

National Portrait Gallery

1604



(a)

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley



(b)

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY

Bodleian Library, Oxford

W. L., standing on a carpet, embroidered skirt; open bosom, circular ruff, fair hair; right hand on cushion across the arms of a chair; a pair of gloves on cushion; feather fan in left hand. [Plate XXVI (b).]

Earl Spencer, K.G., Althorp.

The costume in this portrait can hardly be that of a lady who died in 1597; the portrait may be that of Penelope Wriothesley, sister of the third Earl of Southampton, who married William, second Lord Spencer.

SUSSEX, ELINOR WORTLEY, COUNTESS OF (d. 1607).

Daughter of Sir Richard Wortley, married first to Sir Henry Lee; secondly to Edward Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex; thirdly, Robert Brooke, second Earl of Warwick; fourth, Edward Montagu, Earl of Manchester.

W. L., standing on carpet; black dress and mantle with white silk linings; widow's cap; left hand holding handkerchief. [Plate XXIX (b).]

Canvas 84 x 52 in.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

S. K. M., 1868, No. 681.

SUSSEX, ROBERT RADCLIFFE, FIFTH EARL OF SUSSEX (1569?–1629).

Succeeded his father in 1593; patron of poets and man of letters.

W. L., standing on a marble floor; white armour, breeches embroidered with gold; white boots; staff in his right hand, his left on the hilt of a sword with elaborate belt-fittings; helmet with remarkable plume on table; inscribed *Amando e fidando troppo sono rovinato*. [Plate XIII.]

Painted in 1593 and then in the possession of John, Lord Lumley, at Lumley Castle, where it remained until 1785. See the *Burlington Magazine*, October, 1913.

Henry Harris, Esq., Bedford Square.

TALBOT, LADY GRACE (b. 1572–).

Daughter of George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, and Gertrude Manners, his first wife; married to Henry Cavendish, son of Sir William Cavendish and 'Bess of Hardwick'.

Small W. L., standing; black dress, holding a prayer-book open at Psalm xvi; inscribed MORS POTIUS QUAM DEDICUS and 'Anno Dⁿⁱ 1591 Ætatis Suæ 19'.

Duke of Devonshire, Hardwick Hall.

TANFIELD, ELIZABETH, LADY (d. 1628).

Daughter of Giles Symonds and Katherine, sister of Sir Henry Lee, K.G.; married about 1585 to Sir Laurence Tanfield.

W. L., standing in a landscape by an orange tree; green dress embroidered with silver; crimson mantle; yellow lace veil; her hair loose over her shoulders with pansies in it. [Plate XXX (b).]

Canvas 81 x 50 in.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

Manchester Exhibition, 1857, No. 21; S. K. M., 1818, No. 669; R. A., 1902, No. 161.

Reproduced by Collins Baker in *Lely and the Stuart Portrait-Painters* as by Paul Van Somer.

This portrait, the identification of which is not quite certain, appears to be one of those painted in masquerade dress.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

TOMLINS, RICHARD (1564?–1650?).

Of Richmond, Surrey; founder of the Anatomy Lecture at Oxford University, 1623.

T. Q. L., standing in black dress; white and gold cap; high crowned hat on table; inscribed RIC. TOMLYNS ARMIG.—ANNO DOM. 1628 ÆTATIS SVÆ 64. [Plate XL (b).]

Reproduced in Mrs. Poole's *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, No. 114.

VAVASOUR, ANNE.

Natural daughter of Sir Henry Vavasour; gentlewoman to Queen Elizabeth; kept house for Sir Henry Lee, K.G., where she entertained James I and Queen Anne in 1603.

(a) W. L., standing on carpet; left hand on back of chair holding a glove; large white farthingale and painted stomacher, embroidered with flowers; double gold chain over left shoulder; open ruff and bare bosom; pink flowers in her hair. [Plate VIII (b).]

Canvas $80 \times 48\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Viscount Dillon, Ditchley.

Manchester Exhibition, 1857, No. 23; R. A., 1902, No. 159.

(b) H. L., in black and white dress.

Panel 27×23 in.

Sir Henry Vavasour, Bart.

Tudor Exhibition, 1890, No. 304.

WENTWORTH, ELIZABETH CECIL, LADY (d. 1583).

Daughter of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, married in 1581 to William, eldest son of Thomas, second Lord Wentworth; both she and her husband died in 1583.

T. Q., in farthingale and painted bodice; dark hair under jewelled cap; embroidered sleeves; a fan in right hand.

Panel $41\frac{1}{2} \times 35$ in.

Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield.

S. K. M., 1866, No. 240.

WINCHILSEA, ELIZABETH FINCH, COUNTESS OF (1557 ?-1634).

Daughter of Sir Thomas Heneage and wife of Sir Moyle Finch; created Viscountess Maidstone 1625, and Countess of Winchilsea 1628.

T. Q., standing; rich embroidered black gown, farthingale and painted stomacher; lace ruff open at neck; black cap with jewels; ropes of pearls and many jewels; a rose in her right hand.

Panel $43\frac{1}{2} \times 34\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle.

Formerly in the Lenthall Collection at Burford Priory; purchased by the Earl of Radnor, 1808.

Reproduced in Lady Radnor and W. B. Squire's *Catalogue of the Pictures at Longford Castle*, No. 161.

'THE PERFECT WIFE.'

There are in existence three small pictures representing ladies in the costume of the period, with emblems of the 'Perfect Wife'. The subject has been dealt with in the *Burlington Magazine* for June 1914, by Miss M. Kathleen Martin, where two of the pictures are reproduced.

(a) A full-length portrait of a young lady in a farthingale and painted bodice, standing on carpet by a large chair, across the arms of which is a velvet cushion.

Engraved by J. Faber in 1742 as a portrait of Queen Elizabeth after Holbein (!).

G. Bromley-Martin, Esq., Ham Court, Upton-on-Severn.

(b) A similar emblematical picture of a young lady also standing on carpet by a chair with a similar cushion laid across it. She wears a black farthingale, and costume of a slightly later date.

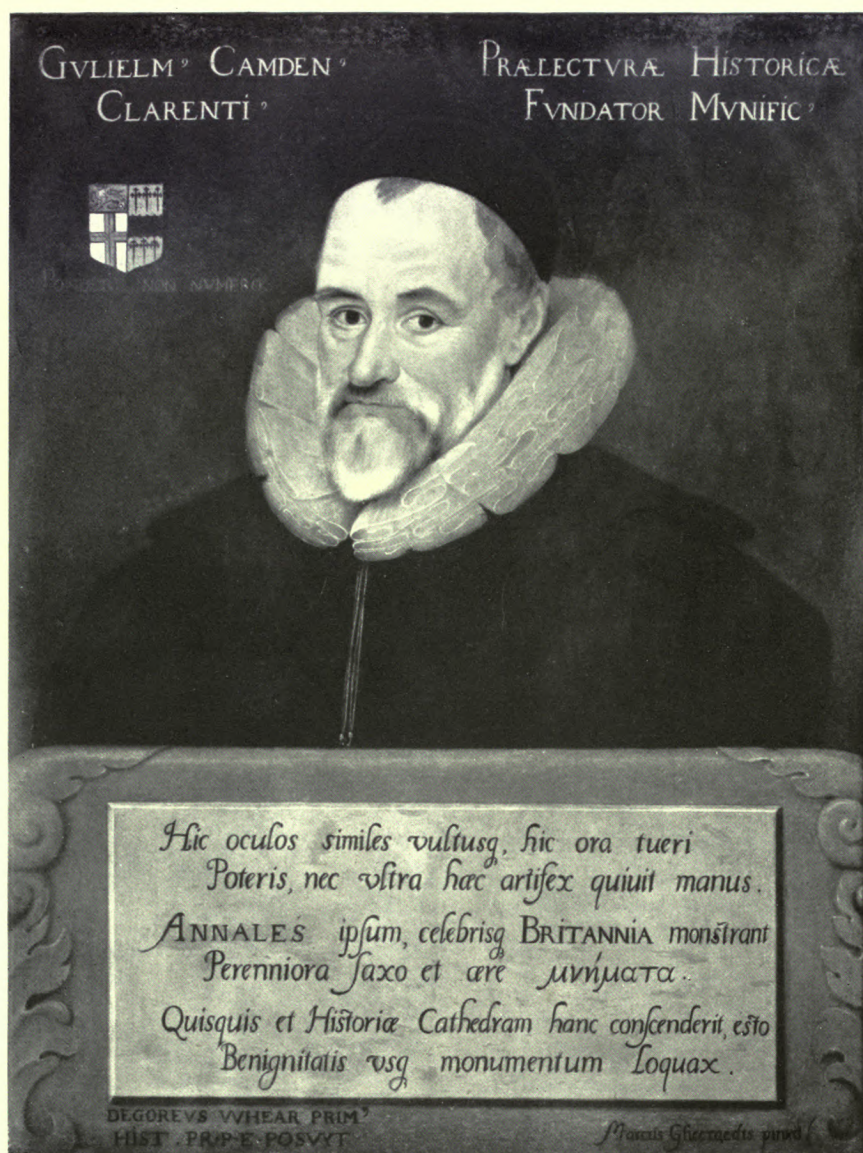
Panel.

Earl of Chichester, Stanmer.

(c) A similar portrait on canvas.

Mr. H. Sutton, Kelham House.

Both (b) and (c) derive by family descent from Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington.



(a)

WILLIAM CAMDEN

Bodleian Library, Oxford



(b)

RICHARD TOMLINS

Bodleian Library, Oxford



(a) WILLIAM POPE, 1ST EARL OF DOWNE
Trinity College, Oxford



Scattered among the stately homes and private collections of England are many portraits of ladies of this period, either Elizabethan or Jacobean, whose names have been lost to posterity. A catalogue of these would be of little use, though a plentiful supply of photographs might lead to further identifications, or at all events elucidations. For the most part any lady in a farthingale is or has been at some time called Queen Elizabeth, with an occasional variation into Elizabeth of Bohemia—such as the two charming portraits at Wroxton Abbey, reproduced here [Plate XXV (*a*) and (*b*)]. Portraits of children of this period are also not uncommon, but as a rule are only to be dated by their costume. Some of these are very attractive, more worthy of the great Dutch painters than the very unequal English school. A charming example is the child, called Anne Russell, at Woburn Abbey, which cannot well represent a child who was old enough in 1600 to have been a favourite maid-of-honour to Queen Elizabeth, and the heroine-bride of the visit to Blackfriars [see frontispiece]. The discussion of these child-portraits deserves a whole article to itself.

The foregoing list and the numerous portraits reproduced will give a good idea of the material from which selection can be made for attribution to Marcus Gheeraerts the younger. It has already been noted that some of the earlier portraits may be the work of Gower, and some of the later that of John De Critz or Robert Peake. Further research may establish more certainty as to the English school of painting in London from 1580 to 1620.



THE ANNUNCIATION; THE VISITATION

British Museum, Royal MS. 1 D. x, f. 1

A PSALTER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (ROYAL
MS. 1 D. x), ILLUMINATED IN ENGLAND EARLY IN
THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

BY J. A. HERBERT

THE beginning of the thirteenth century is an interesting transitional period in the history of illumination in England, as in Western Europe generally. A change was taking place, analogous in some measure to the transition from Romanesque to Gothic architecture, which occurred about the same time. Speaking broadly, twelfth-century illumination may be characterized as massive rather than graceful. It was a time when stately volumes were produced, such as the huge Bibles still preserved in the Chapter libraries of Winchester and Durham¹; and the same preference for ample dimensions appears in script and decoration as in *format*. The normal book-hand of the time was large and bold, and there was a certain correspondence in general style between lettering and illumination. The miniatures were mostly large, usually filling the page, though this was sometimes divided into compartments, so as to contain two or more separate pictures; and the manner of treating the subjects dealt with showed something of a similar tendency. The figures were mostly on a large scale, the compositions naïvely symmetrical (so far as symmetry was compatible with intelligible representation of the subject), accessories few or none, backgrounds gold or monochrome. It must be added that the figure-drawing of this period was for the most part not of a high order: gaunt, long-limbed, ungainly persons fill the pictures, with faces showing little individuality—often, indeed, they are all of one type, and that an unlovely one, with prominent nose and receding chin². It will be understood, of course, that these few sentences do not pretend to describe the whole of English twelfth-century miniature; they are merely an attempt to sketch roughly and very briefly its leading characteristics, especially those which distinguish it most markedly from the work of the following century. Apart from the initial letters, there is practically no attempt at purely decorative work beyond a stiff repeat-pattern

¹ For the former see *Palaeographical Society*, ser. ii. pl. 166-7, and *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illum. MSS.*, 1908, no. 106, pl. 78; for the latter, *New Pal. Soc.*, pl. 239.

² Characteristic instances of this unattractive facial type may be seen in Sir G. L. Holford's MS. of the Life of St. Edmund, *New Pal. Soc.*, pl. 113-5, *Burl. F. A. Club*, no. 18, pl. 23.

framing the full-page miniatures. The initial ornament is decidedly the most pleasing feature of twelfth-century illumination. There is much freedom and inventiveness in the scrolls of foliage, diversified with human, animal, and monstrous forms, which compose or fill the large initial letters; and the figure-compositions enclosed in some of them, especially towards the end of the century, are at any rate not inferior to the regular miniatures.

The prevailing taste of the thirteenth century was for finer, more minute and delicate work. It is well exemplified in the portable Latin Bibles which form so prominent a feature of the book-production of the period: veritable pocket-books, many of them, written in exquisitely neat minuscules and adorned with initials filled with conventional foliage or enclosing small, carefully finished miniatures. These, however, only represent the average work; for the highest developments of thirteenth-century illumination we must consult such books as the Bible of William of Devon,¹ executed about the middle of the century, or the beautiful Psalter, of about the same date, in the library of the Duke of Rutland.² The art of these and other fine manuscripts of the time shows a very great advance on that of the preceding century in point of delicacy and technical skill. The proportions of the human figure are more correctly rendered; there is more suggestion of modelling, especially in the drapery-folds; the faces are more pleasing, and sometimes show distinct attempts at individual characterization. There is greater freedom, less rigid symmetry, in the compositions, together with more plentiful use of accessories; the groups or single figures are frequently placed under trefoil-arched canopies. The backgrounds, too, are less severely simple: where gold is used, it is not only raised and burnished as before, but stippled over with designs of increasing intricacy and beauty; and monochrome backgrounds are now replaced by diaper patterns, usually of light and dark blue, sometimes with touches of pink and white in addition. Another very striking change is the introduction (or rather re-introduction, for it formed a prominent feature of tenth- and eleventh-century illumination) of border-decoration. This was developed, in the course of the thirteenth century, from a mere prolongation of the historiated or decorative initial into a cusped and foliated bar framing the page of text, and affording a standing-ground for all kinds of quaint little figures, human, animal, or grotesque.

The manuscript from which the accompanying plates are taken (Royal MS. 1 D. x in the British Museum) illustrates the beginning of the transition from the former to the latter of these two very distinct styles. It is one of a group of Psalters executed in England about the beginning of the thirteenth century, other members of which are Arundel 157 and Lansdowne 420 in the

¹ Brit. Mus., Roy. MS. 1 D. i, see G. F. Warner, *Illum. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 1899-1903, pl. 20; Sir E. M. Thompson, *English Illum. MSS.*, 1895, pl. 11.

² *New Pal. Soc.*, pl. 64-6.



THE MAGI WITH HEROD; ADORATION OF THE MAGI

British Museum, Royal MS. 1 D. x, f. 2



The Magi warned ; Presentation in the Temple.

(British Museum, Royal MS. 1D. x, f.2b)

British Museum, and Clm. 835 in the Hofbibliothek at Munich.¹ All these contain series of full-page miniatures of the Life of Christ, obviously derived from the same originals; and the Munich MS. has in addition, like the closely allied Psalter of Queen Ingeburge at Chantilly,² several scenes from the Old Testament. Of these four MSS. the last-named is unquestionably the finest; but since it was executed (about 1213) for a French Queen-consort, most probably in or near Paris, it would be rash to claim it as an example of English art, though it shows unmistakable signs of English influence. Of the others, though the Munich MS. is the most copiously illustrated, it seems inferior to Roy. 1 D. x in point of artistic excellence,³ as the Arundel and Lansdowne MSS. certainly are. It is regrettable that the actual provenance of these MSS. has not hitherto been ascertained, and is perhaps not ascertainable. The most that can safely be said is that the Calendar of Arundel 157 seems to indicate Oxford (having not only the Deposition and Translation of St. Frideswide, on Oct. 19 and Feb. 12 respectively, but also her 'Invention' on May 15, the last in red), while that of Lansd. 420 points rather towards the neighbourhood of London, perhaps Barking in Essex (having St. Osith, Oct. 7, St. Ethelburga, Oct. 11, and the Deposition and Translation of St. Erkenwald, Apr. 30 and Nov. 14, the last three in red). But there are also suggestions of a Chester connexion in the latter Calendar, the names of St. Werburga and her mother St. Eormenilda (Feb. 3 and 13) being in green, apparently as a mark of exceptional honour,⁴ and the obit of David Hulse, esquire [of Norbury in Cheshire], 24 May, 1436, having been inserted in the fifteenth century. Perhaps the book was originally made for (and perhaps at) Barking Abbey, and soon afterwards transferred to Chester. The question, however, has but little immediate interest for us; for the paintings are crude and uncouth to a degree, and their common parentage with those in the Royal MS. is attested not by any resemblance in manner, but only by the close agreement in subject and in the broad outlines of design.

The Arundel MS. approaches much more nearly to equal rank with the Royal as a work of art. The 'Beatus vir' page,⁵ indeed, at the beginning of the Psalms is even finer, and is one of the most splendid examples of its kind, the decorative scheme filling the entire page, not merely the upper part as in the Royal; and the Calendar-medallions, initials, and line-endings are only

¹ For brief notices of these MSS. see A. Haseloff in A. Michel's *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. ii, pt. i, 1906, p. 320, and the present writer's *Illum. MSS.*, 1911, pp. 176-80.

² See L. Delisle, *Notice de douze livres royaux*, 1902, pp. 1-17, pl. 1-3.

³ It is fair to say that Dr. Haseloff holds the opposite opinion; but the photographs, which are all I have seen of the Munich MS., do not support his view.

⁴ The only other entry in green is St. Hugh (d. 1200, canonized 1220), Nov. 17, palpably a later addition.

⁵ Warner, *Reproductions*, ser. iii, 1908, pl. 16.

slightly inferior. The series of miniatures is more complete, and in the corresponding scenes the agreement between the two manuscripts as to the details of composition is remarkably close ; but the Arundel MS. lacks the dignity and delicate finish of the Royal, and its colouring is less harmonious.

Royal MS. 1 D. x consists of 140 vellum leaves (numbered 1 to 139, a blank leaf after f. 8 being omitted in the numbering), measuring $10\frac{5}{8}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; in quires of 8 leaves, with the following exceptions : quire i has been misbound, the third sheet having been detached and bound up as a separate quire ; quire xii has 10 leaves, quires xv and xvi have 6 leaves each, and quires xvii and xviii 7 leaves each. Quires iii-vii (the first five quires of the text) are numbered i-v, on the *verso* of the last leaf in each case. The contents are :—
1. Miniatures of the Life of Christ, f. 1 ; 2. Calendar, f. 9 ; 3. Psalms, Gallican version, f. 16 ; 4. Canticles, f. 125 ; 5. Litany and Prayers, f. 137.

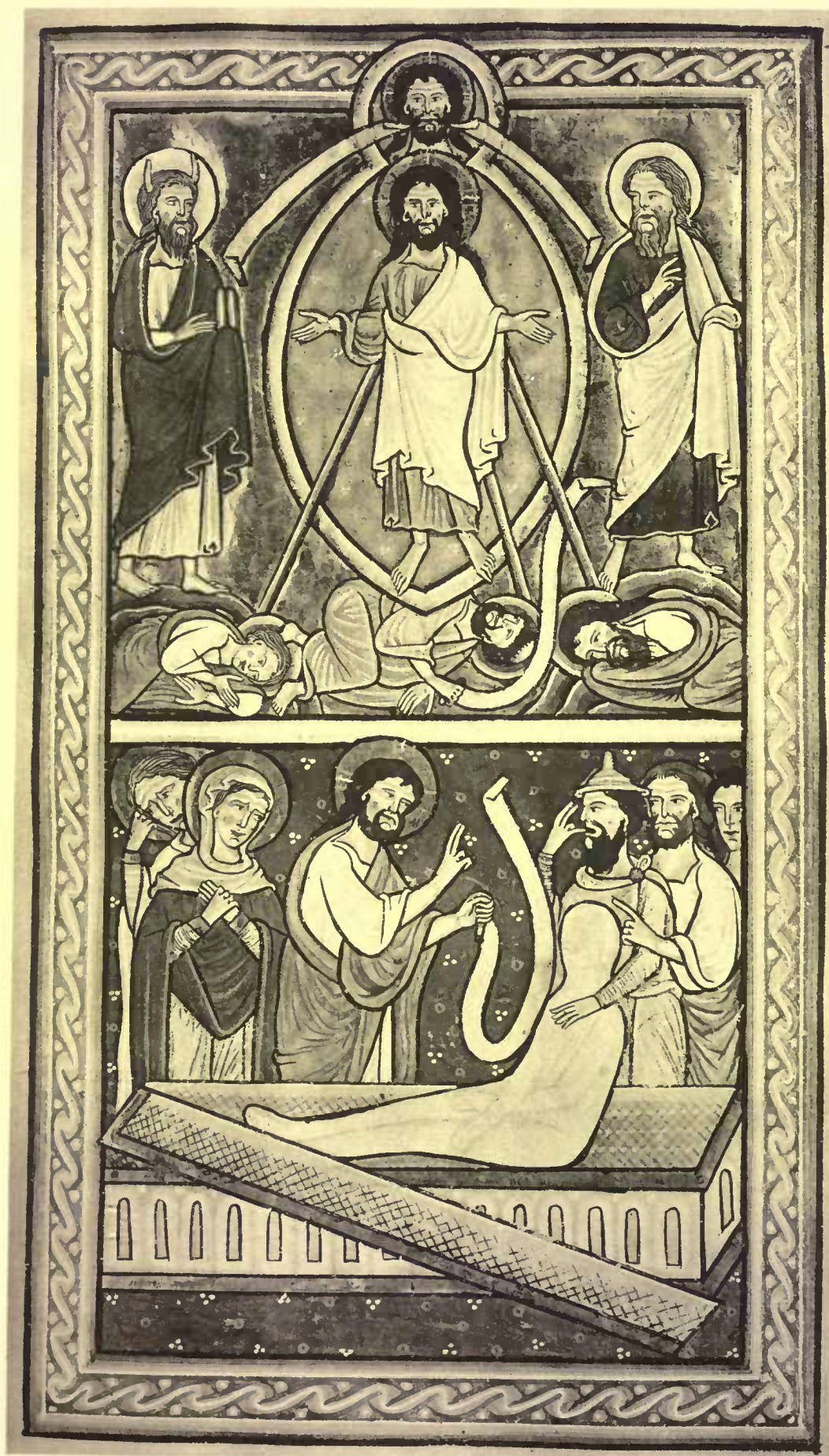
One turns naturally to Calendar and Litany for indications of provenance and date ; but the indications supplied here are not so precise and explicit as could be wished. The verses on the unlucky days in each month are the rhyming ones so often found (with slight variations) in English liturgical manuscripts, viz. :—

Jan. Prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut ensis.
Feb. Quarta subit mortem, prosternit tertia fortem.
Mar. Primus mandentem dirumpit, quarta bibentem.
Apr. Denus et undenus est mortis uulnere plenus.
May Tercius occidit, et septimus ora relidit.
June. Denus pallescit, quindenus federa nescit.
July. Tredecimus mactat Iulii, denus labefactat.
Aug. Prima necat fortem, perditque secunda cohortem.
Sept. Tercia Septembris et decima fert mala menbris.
Oct. Tercius et denus est sicut mors alienus.
Nov. Scorpius est quintus, et tercius est nece cinctus.
Dec. Tercia cum dena clamat sis integra uena.

The great festivals of the Church are written in gold uncials on blue or pink grounds, or sometimes on a parti-coloured ground of blue and pink ; those which come next in dignity are in blue, and the remainder are in green or red alternately. In the following transcript (which is complete as to substance, though given in condensed form to save space) these three classes are printed in capitals, italics, and ordinary type respectively.

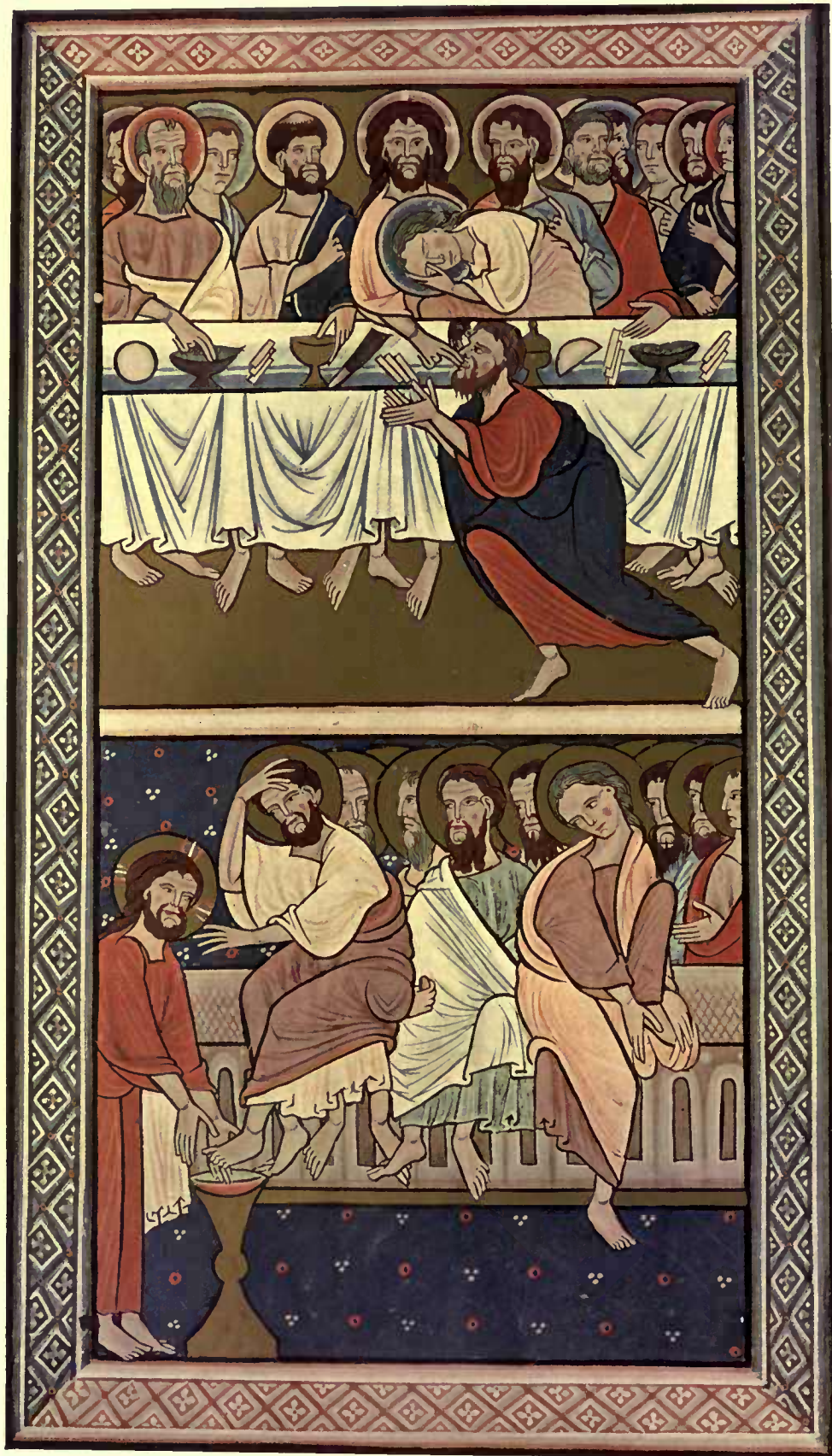
Jan. 1. CIRCUMCISIO DOMINI.	Jan. 9. S. Iudoci conf.
2. Oct. S. Stephani prothomart.	13. Oct. Epiphanie. SS. Hylarii [et]
3. Oct. S. Iohannis apost. et ewang.	Remigii episcoporum.
4. Oct. SS. Innocentium.	14. S. Felicis conf. in pincis.
5. Oct. S. Thome mart. Vigilia.	15. S. Mauri abb. et conf.
6. EPIPHANIA DOMINI.	16. S. Marcelli pape ¹ et mart.

¹ Erased.



THE TRANSFIGURATION; RAISING OF LAZARUS

British Museum, Royal MS. 1 D. x, f. 3



The Last Supper ; Christ washing the Disciples' feet.

(British Museum, Royal MS. 1D. x. f.4)

- Jan. 17. S. Antonii conf.
 18. S. Prisce uirg. et mart.
 20. SS. mart. Fabiani et Sebastiani.
 21. S. Agnetis uirg. et mart.
 22. *S. Vincentii leuite et mart.*
 23. S. Emeranciane uirg. et mart.
 25. *Conuersio S. Pauli.* S. Preiecti mart.
 27. S. Iohannis Crisostomi.
 28. S. Agnetis secundo.

- Feb. 2. PURIFICATIO S. MARIE.
 3. S. Werburge uirg.
 5. S. Agathe uirg. et mart.
 6. SS. Vedasti et Amandi.
 10. SS. uirg. Scolastice et Austroberte.
 12. *Translatio S. Fridesuude uirg.*
 14. S. Valentini mart.
 16. S. Iuliane uirg.
 17. S. Siluini ep. et conf.
 22. *Cathedra S. Petri.*
 24. S. MATHIE APOST.
 28. S. Oswaldi archiep.

- Mar. 1. S. Abbini (*sic*) conf.
 2. S. Ceadde ep. et conf.
 7. SS. Perpetue et Felicitatis virg. et mart.
 9. Passio xl militum.
 12. *S. Gregorii pape.*¹
 18. S. Eaduardi regis et mart.
 20. S. Cuthberti ep. et conf.
 21. S. Benedicti abb. Equinoctium.
 23. Adam creatus est.
 25. ANNUNCIATIO S. MARIE. Hic crucifixus est dominus.
 30. S. Quirini mart.
 31. S. Balbine uirg. et mart.

- Apr. 2. S. Marie egiptiace.
 4. Depositio S. Ambrosii ep.
 11. S. Guthlaci anachorite.
 13. S. Eufemie uirg.
 14. SS. Tiburcii, Valeriani et Maximi.
 19. S. Ælphégi archiep.
 23. *S. Georgii mart.*
 24. S. Yuonis archiep. et mart.
 25. *S. Marci euuang.* Letania maior.
 28. S. Vitalis mart.

- May 1. PHILIPPI ET IACOBI.
 3. INVENTIO S. +. Alexandri, Eventii et Theodoli mart.
 4. S. Quiriaci mart.
 6. *S. Iohannis ante portam Latinam.*
 7. S. Iohannis ep. et conf.
 9. Translatio S. Andree apost. Translatio S. Nicholai.
 10. SS. mart. Gordiani et Epimachi.
 12. SS. Nerei, Achillei et Pancratii mart.
 16. S. Eugenie uirg.
 19. S. Dunstani archiep. et conf.
 25. S. Urbani pape.¹ S. Andelmi.
 26. *S. Augustini Anglorum apost.*
 28. S. Germani ep.
 31. S. Patronille uirg.

- June 1. S. Nichomedis mart.
 2. SS. Marcellini et Petri.
 8. Medardi et Gildardi episcoporum.
 9. Primi et Feliciani mart.
 11. *S. Barnabe apost.*
 12. Basilidis, Cirini, Naboris et Nazarii.
 15. Viti et Modesti mart. et S. Eadburge virg.
 16. Cirici et Iulite mart.
 17. S. Botulfi abb.
 18. SS. Marci et Marcelliani mart.
 19. SS. Gervasii et Prothasii mart.
 22. S. Albani mart.
 23. S. Edeldrine uirg.
 24. NATIVITAS S. IOHANNIS BAPTISTE.
 26. SS. Iohannis et Pauli.
 28. S. Leonis pape.¹
 29. APOSTOLORVM PETRI ET PAVLI.
 30. *Commemoratio S. Pauli apost.*

- July 1. *Oct. S. Iohannis Bapt.*
 2. S. Swithuni conf. et ep. SS. Processi et Martiniani mart.
 4. Translatio et ordinatio S. Martini ep.
 6. *Oct. apostolorum Petri et Pauli.*
 8. S. Grimbaldi conf.
 10. SS. vii fratrum.
 11. Translatio S. Benedicti abb. Dies caniculares.
 13. S. Mildride uirg.

¹ Erased.

- July 15. Translatio S. Swithuni ep.
 17. S. Kenelmi regis et mart.
 18. S. Edwardi regis et mart.
 20. S. *Margarete uirg. et mart.*
 21. S. Praxedis virg. et mart.
 22. S. MARIE MAGDALENE. Wandra-
 gisili conf.
 23. S. Apollinaris mart.
 24. S. Cristine uirg. et mart. Vigilia.
 25. S. IACOBI APOST.
 26. SS. Iuliani et Iacincti mart.
 27. SS. vii dormientium.
 28. S. Pantaleonis mart. et Samsonis ep.
 29. Felicis, Simplicii, Faustini et Beatri-
 cis mart.
 30. SS. Abdon et Sennes.
 31. S. Germani ep. et conf.

- Aug. 1. *Ad uincula S. Petri.*
 2. S. Stephani pape¹ et mart.
 3. Inuentio S. Stephani sociorumque
 eius.
 5. S. Oswaldi regis et mart.
 6. Sixti ep., Felicissimi et Agapiti.
 7. S. Donati ep. et mart.
 8. S. Ciriaci mart. cum sociis eius.
 9. S. Romani mart.
 10. S. *Laurentii mart.*
 11. S. Tiburcii mart.
 13. S. Ypoliti cum sotiis eius.
 14. S. Eusebii conf. VIGILIA.
 15. ASSUMPTIO S. MARIE VIRG.
 16. S. Arnulfi ep. et conf.
 17. Oct. S. Laurentii mart.
 18. S. Agapiti mart.
 19. S. Magni mart.
 20. S. Phileberti abb.
 22. Oct. S. *Marie virg.* Timothei et
 Simforiani mart.
 24. S. BARTHOLOMEI APOST. S. Audoeni
 ep.
 27. S. Ruphi mart.
 28. S. Augustini magni. S. Hermetis
 mart.
 29. *Decollatio S. Iohannis Bapt.* S. Sa-
 bine uirg.
 30. SS. Felicis et Adaucti mart.
 31. SS. episcoporum Paulini et Aidani.

- Sept. 1. S. *Egidii abb.* S. Prisci mart.
 4. Translatio S. Cuthberti ep.
 8. NATIVITAS S. MARIE.
 9. S. Gorgonii mart.
 11. SS. Prothi et Iacincti mart.
 14. EXALTATIO S. CRVCIS.
 15. Oct. S. *Marie.* Nicomedis mart.
 16. S. Edithe uirg.
 17. S. Lamberti mart.
 20. Vigilia.
 21. S. MATHEI APOST. ET EWANG.
 22. S. Mauricii cum sociis suis.
 23. S. Tecele uirg.
 24. Equinoctium.
 25. S. Firmini ep. et mart.
 26. S. Iustine uirg.
 27. SS. Cosme et Damiani mart.
 29. S. MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI.
 30. S. Ieronimi presbiteri.
- Oct. 1. Remigii, Vedasti, Germani, Bauo-
 nis, episcoporum.
 2. S. Leodegarii ep. et mart.
 3. S. Candidi mart.
 6. S. Fidis uirg. et mart.
 7. SS. Marcii pape,¹ Marcelli et Apu-
 lei.
 9. SS. Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii
 mart.
 14. S. Calixti pape.¹
 16. S. Michaelis in monte tumba.
 18. S. Luce ewang. S. Iusti mart.
 19. S. *Frideswide uirg.*
 25. SS. Crispini et Crispiniani mart.
 27. Vigilia.
 28. APOSTOLORVM SIMONIS ET IUDE.
 31. S. Quintini mart. Vigilia.

- Nov. 1. FESTIVITAS OMNIUM SANCTORVM.
 2. S. Eustachii sociorumque eius.
 5. SS. Felicis et Eusebii mart.
 6. S. Leonardi abb.
 8. SS. iiii coronatorum.
 9. S. Theodori mart.
 10. S. Martini pape.¹
 11. S. *Martini ep.*
 13. S. Bricii ep.
 15. S. Machuti ep.

¹ Erased.



THE SUPPER AT EMMAUS; INCREDULITY OF THOMAS

British Museum, Royal MS. 1 D. x, f. 5b



THE ASCENSION; PENTECOST
British Museum, Royal MS. 1 D. x, f. 6

Nov. 16. S. Anani ep.
 17. (*sic*) Oct. S. Martini ep.
 20. S. *Eadmundi regis et mart.*
 22. S. Cecilie uirg.
 23. S. *Clementis pape*¹ *et mart.*
 24. S. Grisogoni mart.
 25. S. *Katerine uirg. et mart.*
 29. S. Saturnini mart. Vigilia.
 30. S. ANDREE APOST.

Dec. 1. SS. Crisanti et Darie mart.
 3. Deposicio S. Birini ep.
 6. S. *Nicholai ep. et conf.*
 7. Oct. S. Andree apost.

Dec. 8. *Conceptio S. Marie uirg.*
 10. S. Eulalie uirg.
 11. S. Damasi pape.¹
 13. S. Lucie uirg. et mart.
 16. O sapientia.
 20. Vigilia.
 21. S. THOME APOST.
 24. Vigilia.
 25. NATIVITAS DOMINI NOSTRI.
 26. S. *Stephani prothomart.*
 27. S. IOHANNIS APOST. ET EWANG.
 28. SS. *Innocentium.*
 29. S. THOME¹ MART.
 31. S. Siluestri pape¹ et conf.

That this is an English Calendar is attested clearly by the signaling of the Deposition of St. Thomas the Martyr (Dec. 29) as one of the great festivals, with octave; of the Deposition and Translation of St. Frideswide (Oct. 19 and Feb. 12), and the Depositions of St. Augustine, Apostle of the English (May 26), and St. Edmund, King and Martyr (Nov. 20), as festivals of the second rank; and by the commemoration of so large a number of English saints among those of the third rank. This conclusion is supported by the erasure of the name Thomas and the word 'pape', indicating that in Henry VIII's reign, at all events, the manuscript was in England. It is more difficult to assign a precise locality. The special honours given to St. Frideswide would suggest Oxford, but for the omission of her Invention (May 15), which is contained in the contemporary Arundel 157. There is a preponderance of Winchester saints (Judoc, Jan. 9 [Translation]; Eadburga, June 15; Swithun, July 2 and 15; Grimbald, July 8; Birinus, Dec. 3); but none of these are accorded more than third-class honours, and there are some omissions which one would not expect to find in a Winchester book, e. g. Translation of Birinus (Sept. 4), Deposition of Judoc (Dec. 13), and the two feasts of Aethelwold (Aug. 1 and Sept. 10). Canterbury is suggested by the extremely high honour paid to Thomas, but his cult was then at its height throughout England, and there is little or nothing else in the Calendar that can be called distinctively Canterbury. It may be noted here, by the way, that the omission to commemorate his Translation may be regarded as almost conclusive evidence that the book was written before July 7, 1220. His canonization in 1173 affords the only positive *terminus post quem*, but the style of script and illumination point to twenty or thirty years later at least.

In the Litany, the Martyrs invoked include Thomas (very high up in the list, between Clement and George) and, at the end, Edmund, Alban, Oswald, and Kenelm. Among the Confessors, Cuthbert comes next after Augustine

¹ Erased.

(of Hippo?) and Benedict, taking precedence of Jerome, Leonard, and Giles; then come Swithun, Germanus, Aldhelm, Dunstan, and Guthlac. The Virgins end with Petronilla, Helena, Petronilla (*sic*), Frideswide, Faith, Hope, Charity, and Bridget. This double invocation of Petronilla may be significant, but of what I know not. Otherwise, the Litany can hardly be said to bring us nearer to determining the place of origin; and the prayers appended give no help whatever in this direction.

It is perhaps unreasonable to expect either Calendar or Litany to yield more precise data as to locality. For it is evident that the Psalter was intended, not for liturgical use, but for the private delectation of some wealthy lover of beautiful books, whose individual preferences might occasion the insertion or omission of particular saints. No clue has hitherto been discovered as to this patron's identity. But until recent years the book has been practically ignored, and it is still not so widely known as it deserves, being one of the finest surviving examples of the art of its time.

The decoration consists of (i) sixteen full-page miniatures at the beginning, (ii) Calendar illustrations, and (iii) initials and line-endings in the text. The full-page miniatures are all, except the Christ enthroned on f. 6 b, divided into two compartments, one of which (the upper or lower alternately) has a background of raised and burnished gold; the other compartments have backgrounds of deep blue, salmon-pink, or purplish-grey, powdered with small red rings, and with still smaller white dots arranged in groups of three. The colour-scheme throughout is simple yet rich in effect, and very pleasing and harmonious. The blue, one of the predominant tints, is particularly fine. In the compositions there is a certain largeness and dignified simplicity such as one associates with fresco-painting rather than miniature. The treatment of the faces is very careful, and shows a distinct and by no means unsuccessful attempt to maintain individual types and portray expression. The subjects are as follows¹:—

1. (Plate XLI.) The Annunciation; the Visitation. f. 1.
2. The Nativity; the Angel and the Shepherds. f. 1 b.
3. (Plate XLII.)² The Magi with Herod; Adoration of the Magi. f. 2.
4. (Plate XLIII.) The Magi warned by an angel in a dream; the Presentation in the Temple. f. 2 b.
5. (Plate XLIV.) The Transfiguration; Raising of Lazarus. f. 3.

The treatment of the former subject, in this manuscript and Arundel 157, f. 7 b, is unusual: Christ stands in a mandorla, above which the head of God the Father appears; Moses and Elias stand on hillocks to left and right; three rays issue from Christ to the heads of the three disciples who crouch below. In the lower compartment the

¹ As noted above, the third sheet of this quire (originally ff. 3 and 6) has been misbound at the end as a separate quire (now ff. 7 and 8), so that the subjects are misarranged. The proper order is 1-4, 13, 14, 5-8, 15, 16, 9-12.

² Pl. XXI in the present writer's *Illum. MSS.*

T		redci		mus mactat iulij demus larefactat.	
ulius				hic dies xxxi Luna xxx	
m		G		Iulius Octab scilicet iohis bapt.	
viii		A		vi. kt. Scilicet swithuni of frepi. Scilicet petri et pauli.	
		B		v. kt.	
xvi		C		iiii. kt. Translatio et ordinatio scilicet orant episcopi.	
v		D		iii. kt.	
		E		ii. kt. Octab apostolorum petri et pauli.	
xiii		F		i. kt.	
ii		G		viii. kt. Scilicet grimbaldi confessoris.	
		A		vii. kt.	
x		B		vi. kt. Scilicet corvini fratrum.	
		C		v. kt. Translatio scilicet bini albis. Dies caniculares.	
xviii		D		iiii. kt.	
vii		E		iii. kt. Scilicet milbride uirginis.	
		F		ii. kt.	
xv		G		i. kt. Translatio scilicet swithuni episcopi.	
iiii		A		xvii. kt. Augusti.	
		B		xvi. kt. Scilicet kenelmi regis et mart.	
xii		C		xv. kt. Scilicet edwardi regis et mart.	
i		D		xiv. kt.	
		E		xiii. kt. Scilicet margarite uirginis et mart.	
ix		F		xii. kt. Scilicet predis uirginis et mart.	
		G		xi. kt. SCE MARIE MAGDALENE wadgifu of	
xvii		A		x. kt. Scilicet apollinarii mart.	
vi		B		ix. kt. Scilicet cristine uirginis et mart.	
		C		viii. kt. SCE IACOBI APELI vigilia.	
xiiii		D		vii. kt. Scilicet miliam et iacobi martirum.	
iii		E		vi. kt. Scilicet vii dormientium.	
		F		v. kt. Scilicet pantaleonis mart. et samsonis episcopi.	
xi		G		iiii. kt. Felici simplici faustini et beatorum mart.	
xx		A		iii. kt. Scilicet abdon et sennes.	
		B		ii. kt. Scilicet germani episcopi et confessoris.	



et in una peccatorum non stetit: & in cathedra
pestilentie non sedit.

Sed in lege domini voluntas eius: & in lege
eius meditabitur die ac nocte.

Um exarsit in breui ira eius: beati omnes
qui confidunt in eo.

Domine quid multiplicata sunt qui tribu-
lant me: multa insurgunt aduersum me.

Multa dicunt anime mee: non est
salus ipsi in deo eius.

figure of Lazarus is not coloured at all, but merely outlined heavily in black, with face and limbs lightly sketched in pencil; doubtless a device for representing the corpse in its gravecloth, not an unfinished picture, cf. Arundel 157, f. 8, where a pale blue wash is used for the features.

6. Magdalen wipes Christ's feet with her hair as He sits at table; Entry into Jerusalem. f. 3 b.
7. (Plate XLV.)¹ The Last Supper; Christ washing the disciples' feet. f. 4.
8. The Kiss of Judas; Christ denied by Peter and buffeted by the soldiers. f. 4 b.
9. The Three Maries at the tomb; Harrowing of Hell. f. 5.
10. (Plate XLVI.) The Supper at Emmaus; Incredulity of Thomas. f. 5 b.
11. (Plate XLVII.) The Ascension; Pentecost. f. 6.
12. Christ enthroned in a mandorla, surrounded by the emblems of the Evangelists. f. 6 b.
13. The Flight into Egypt; Massacre of the Innocents. f. 7.
14. Baptism of Christ; Marriage-feast at Cana. f. 7 b.
15. Scourging of Christ; Judas returns the betrayal-money to the chief priests, and hangs himself. f. 8.
16. The Crucifixion; the Deposition. f. 8 b.

Each of the twelve Calendar-pages has an elaborately illuminated KL for the Kalends, and two roundels, the upper representing an occupation appropriate to the month, the lower the zodiacal sign, on grounds of blue powdered with white dots in groups of three, or of salmon-pink:—

- | | | |
|-------|--|----------|
| Jan. | Man seated on couch, drinking from a horn; Aquarius. | f. 9. |
| Feb. | Man seated before a fire, warming his feet; Pisces. | f. 9 b. |
| Mar. | Digging; Aries. | f. 10. |
| Apr. | Youth sitting in garden with nosegay; Taurus. | f. 10 b. |
| May. | Youth riding, with hawk on fist; Gemini. | f. 11. |
| June. | Mowing with scythe; Cancer. | f. 11 b. |
| July. | (Plate XLVIII.) Weeding; Leo. | f. 12. |
| Aug. | Reaping with sickle; Virgo. | f. 12 b. |
| Sept. | Gathering grapes; Libra. | f. 13. |
| Oct. | Sowing; Scorpio. | f. 13 b. |
| Nov. | Felling a boar; Sagittarius. | f. 14. |
| Dec. | Feasting; Capricornus. | f. 14 b. |

The text of the Psalms is very profusely decorated. The opening words of Ps. i, *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum* (Plate XLIX), are enclosed in a square having at the corners medallions of David (i) slaying lion, (ii) harping, (iii) as king, (iv) as youth. All except the B is in gold uncials on grounds of blue or pink with white or red tracery. The B is of the usual type, a large and elaborate letter, consisting of interlaced spirals, branched and foliated, but ending in dogs' heads, lattice-work at top and bottom of the upright shaft, the two loops connected by a monster's head; all painted on a background of burnished gold, and set in a rectangle diapered in blue, pink, and gold.

¹ Warner, *Reproductions*, iii, pl. 14.

There are also large historiated initials to—

- Ps. xxvi. *Dominus illuminatio mea* (Plate L). Samuel anointing David. f. 32.
 Ps. xxxviii. *Dixi custodiam*. Judgement of Solomon. f. 42 b.
 Ps. li. *Quid gloriaris*. David and Goliath. f. 52.
 Ps. lii. *Dixit insipiens*. Temptation of Christ. f. 52 b.
 Ps. lxviii. *Salvum me fac* (Plate L). David, up to the waist in water, dragged down by two devils, prays to God. f. 62.
 Ps. lxxx. *Exultate Deo*. Jacob wrestling with angel. f. 74 b.
 Ps. xcvi. *Cantate Domino*. Virgin and Child. f. 86.
 Ps. ci. *Domine exaudi*. King David kneels before Christ, who blesses him with right hand and holds a cup in left hand. f. 87 b.
 Ps. cix. *Dixit Dominus Domino meo*. Father and Son (as two bearded men exactly alike) sit side by side. f. 98.

In these the miniature is painted on a background of burnished gold stippled with a dot-pattern, and the enclosing letter is set in a rectangle of diapered blue or pink. The remaining Psalms have finely illuminated initials with a great variety of design. Most of them are filled with conventional foliage and monsters (e. g. Ps. ii, *Domine quid multiplicati*, f. 17 (Plate XLIX)); but a few contain whimsical figure-subjects, such as a bear sitting on a lion's back and playing a fiddle (Ps. vi, f. 18 (Plate L)), two apes wrestling (Ps. xxiii, f. 30), two lions biting one another (Ps. xxix, f. 33 b), a donkey playing a harp (Ps. cxviii, f. 109), &c.

Finally, mention must be made of the delightfully spirited and humorous pen-work designs, in blue and red, with which the spaces left at the ends of verses are filled up. This is a characteristic feature of English Psalters of the thirteenth century, but nowhere is it to be seen to greater advantage than in the present manuscript. A few examples are shown in Plates XLIX and L. Among the favourite devices are birds, fishes, dogs, running hares, springing lions, and various monster-forms.

ne: ut scuto bone voluntatis tue coronasti nos.
Quoniam ne in furore tuo arguas me:
 neque in ira tua corripas me.
 Misere mei domine quoniam infirmus sum: sana

Pes meus stetit in directo: in ecclesiis benedicam
 te domine.



OMNIS

illuminatio mea: & sa-
 lus mea. quem timebo.

Dominus protector vite mee:
 a quo trepidabo.

Dum appiant super me
 nocentes: ut edant
 carnes meas.



ALVO: DE FACTO

quoniam intrauerunt aque usque
 ad animam meam.

Infixus sum in limo profundum:
 & non est substantia.
 enim in altitudinem maris: &
 tempestas demersit me.



FIG. 1

HIPPOPOTAMUS. MS 22
Westminster Chapter Library



FIG. 3

AMPHISBAENA
MS. Harl. 4751 (B M)



FIG. 2

HIPPOPOTAMUS
St. George's Chapel, Windsor

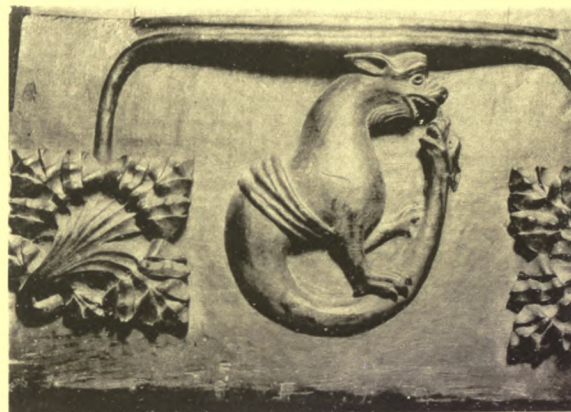


FIG. 4

AMPHISBAENA
Limerick Cathedral

ANIMALS IN ENGLISH WOOD CARVINGS

BY G. C. DRUCE

THE treatment of animals and birds in ecclesiastical carvings hardly seems to have received sufficient attention in the past. In common with other unobtrusive details they are liable to be passed over in favour of more imposing architectural features, but they are deserving of study, as we are able to gather from them evidence of the practice of the English carver in the department of natural history and the influences affecting his work.

Despite continual losses the amount of figure sculpture in stone and wood in our churches is large, and the subjects display the greatest variety. There are scenes from the Bible, from romances and legends, animals, birds and reptiles from the Bestiaries, events of everyday life, and grotesque creatures in profusion; and incidentally there are innumerable details of mediaeval manners and costume which present a large field for study. The sources of this miscellaneous collection are to be found mainly in illuminated manuscripts—in the Psalters, Apocalypses, Bestiaries, and other manuscripts to which the carvers had access, and which they freely copied or at least got ideas from. In the case of animals, with which we are now concerned, the Bestiaries provided many models. They form the pictorial link between the old system of symbolic teaching of the early Biblical commentators, founded upon the appearance and habits of animals and birds, and the carvings of animals in churches. The texts of the Bestiaries were only in part original. They were in the main compiled from the works of Ambrose, Basil, and Eustathius on the six days of the Creation, entitled *The Hexameron*, the *Moralia* of Gregory, from Isidore's *Etymology*, the *De Universo* and treatises on Leviticus and Deuteronomy of Rabanus, and the *De Bestiis et aliis rebus* in the Appendix to the works of Hugo de Sancto Victore. These had in turn borrowed largely from classical writers on natural history such as Pliny, Solinus, and Aelian. The masons of the twelfth century were no doubt well acquainted with the symbolism expressed in the Bestiaries, and used the subjects in the same religious or moral sense. The most important carvings of this class are to be seen upon the south doorway of Alne Church (Yorks.), where the various beasts and birds have titles corresponding with those in the manuscripts, and without which they could not be identified.

Little is known of the sources whence the illustrators of the Bestiaries obtained the material for their pictures. They professed to represent nature,

but we have only to turn over the pages of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century manuscript to see how little they knew of the anatomy of many of the animals depicted, and how much they adhered to types. In the case of fabulous creatures such as the griffin, syren, or centaur, they had classical originals to work upon, and this was also probably the case with some of the rarer beasts, such as the tiger, hyena, camel, or crocodile, which they were not likely to have seen; but they were evidently well acquainted with the forms of some wild beasts such as the lion or bear, and in the case of domestic animals there was no difficulty. Where there was no model available, there was no alternative but to compose the animal from the description in the text, and this at times led to curious results. Pictures of such beasts as the hippopotamus, mantichora and eale, described by Pliny, were no doubt produced in this way. The hippopotamus is but seldom illustrated in the Bestiaries and appears, so far as we know, only in one group, the best illustration being in MS. 22 of the thirteenth century in the Westminster Chapter Library (fig. 1). The artist was ignorant of its shape and composed his picture from the text, which was taken from the *Polyhistor* of Solinus; he produced from the various points given a cross between a horse with boar's tusks and a dragon with twisted body and horse-tail. It will be seen from the legend 'Explicit de Piscibus' below the miniature that it is classed with the fishes. Carvings of hippopotamus are also very scarce in churches, but an interesting attempt may be seen upon a misericord of about 1480 in date at St. George's Chapel, Windsor (fig. 2). The carver knew that it was a four-legged beast, but was influenced by the established description, and incorporated the features mentioned; he also appears to have had some knowledge of the rhinoceros, and confused the two, for he has given it the horn of the latter. In a carving of a hippopotamus of about the same date upon a poppy-head at Eynesbury (Hunts.) the head is more naturally reproduced.

There are cases in which the influence of the Bestiary may be very closely traced, for instance in the carvings of the amphisbaena, which are fairly common from the twelfth century onward. The carvers could not have seen this creature. It is always drawn in the manuscripts as a winged dragon with a second head upon the end of its tail, as in MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.) (fig. 3), and the carvings show the same features. There is an excellent example in stone upon the twelfth-century font at Hook Norton (Oxon.). The best in wood known to us is upon a misericord at Limerick Cathedral (fig. 4); in both these cases the tail-head is bent round towards the main head in a menacing way, as in the manuscript illustrations. There are other good instances upon misericords at St. George's Chapel and Halsall (Lancs.), upon a boss at Southwark Cathedral, and on a bench-elbow at Stonham Aspell (Suff.) (fig. 6). At the last place the main head somewhat resembles that of the basilisk.

The amphisbaena in nature is a legless lizard, but the creature which the

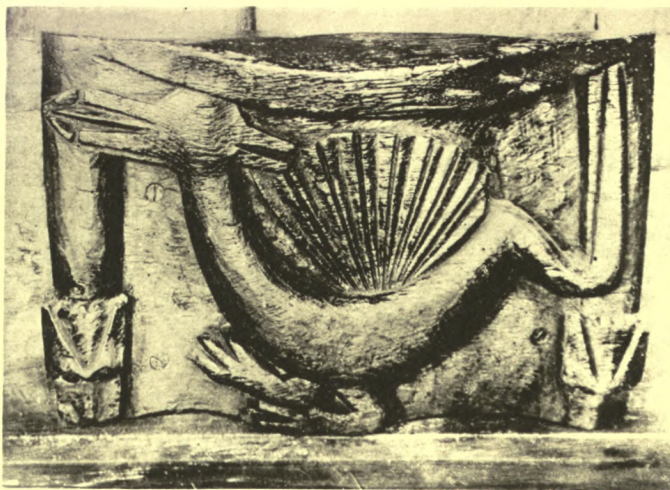


FIG. 5

DRAGON

Weston-in-Gordano



FIG. 6

AMPHISBAENA

Stonham Aspell, Suffolk



FIG. 7

FROG

Edlesborough

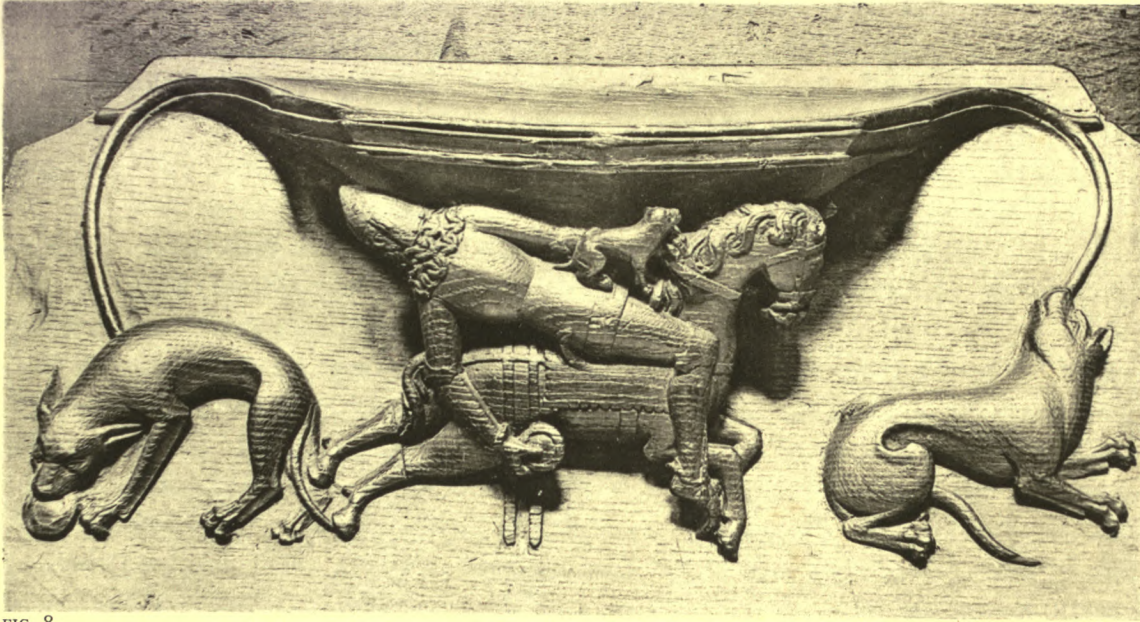


FIG. 8

TIGER AND MIRROR
Chester Cathedral

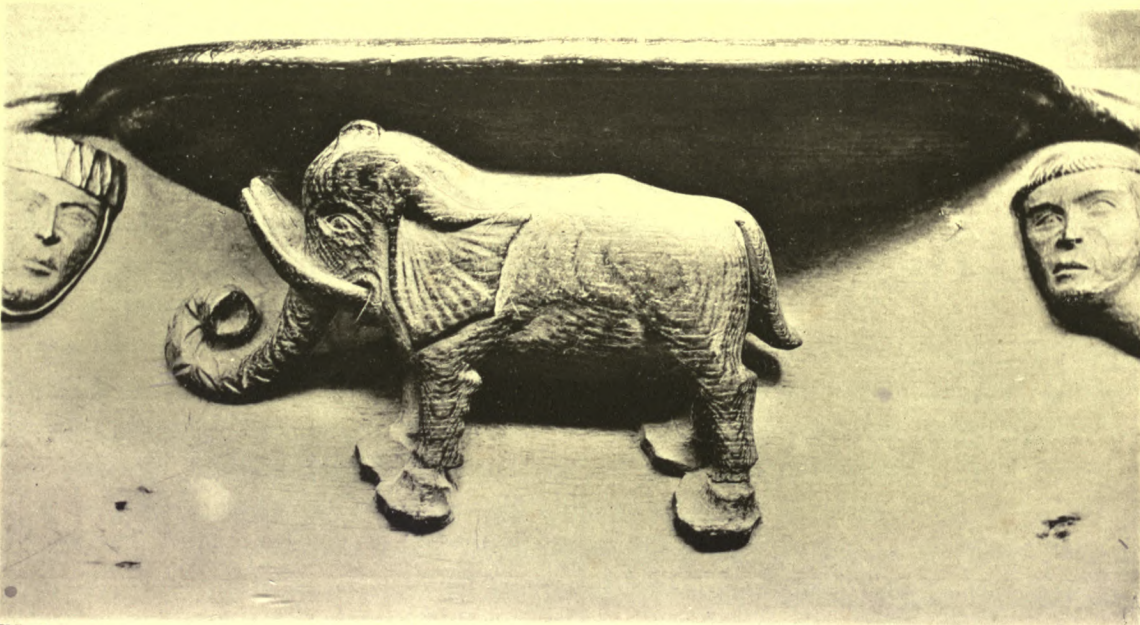


FIG. 9

ELEPHANT
Exeter Cathedral

ancients called by that name, whether the same or not, was regarded by them as a deadly serpent and believed to have a second head upon its tail; and, as its name implies, to possess the power of moving forwards or backwards. It is mentioned in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, and described by Nicander and later classical writers on natural history. There was a controversy continually going on in the Middle Ages as to whether it had two heads or not. Its special characteristic and evil reputation caused it to have a considerable influence in ecclesiastical art and painting, as may be seen in manuscript Apocalypses and in the painting by Margaritone in the National Gallery, where its tail-head is applied to the dragon as the Devil.¹

Reference may be made here to the large number of dragons in carvings from the twelfth century onwards. It is customary to describe them all by the generic name of 'dragon', and in view of the manner in which they are drawn we do not see what else can be done. It is, however, clear from the evidence of the Bestiaries that they represent a variety of serpents, the carvers having followed the lead of the artists in putting them all into dragon form. There are about twenty different serpents and lizards thus depicted in the manuscripts besides such creatures as the scorpion, and this accounts for their prevalence in architecture. The one type of winged dragon for all precludes identification, except in a few cases where a special feature exists, such as the basilisk with the cock's head at Exeter Cathedral, the asps curled up with their ears pressed against the ledge and stopped by their tails at Chichester Cathedral (these are exceptionally in snake-form), and the amphisbaena with its two heads. It affords evidence of the strong devotion to type on the part of both artists and carvers. An examination of the misericords at Carlisle Cathedral is an object-lesson in this respect. Individuality in treatment, however, sometimes bubbles out, for instance in the remarkable dragon at Weston-in-Gordano (Som.) (fig. 5), which seems to betray a local and not over-skilful hand. The whole arrangement of the seat is most unusual.

As many references will be made to misericords it may be pointed out that the great dividing line between the English and Continental practice is the presence of wing subjects, which occur very rarely abroad. At Albi Cathedral there are one hundred and twenty stalls of late fifteenth-century date, thirty-seven of which have small wing carvings of foliage or animal heads on the misericords. The central subject throughout is foliage of simple but bold design except in two cases, in one of which the misericord is plain and in the other it bears a very quaint dragon. Wing subjects are rarely absent in this country, the most important place being Gloucester Cathedral, where the fourteenth-century seats are of unusual design.

¹ For a full account of this 'serpent' vide *Archaeological Journal*, vol. lxvii, p. 285.

It is not to be supposed that the wood-carvers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries took the same serious view of the text and symbolism of the Bestiaries that the earlier stone-masons had; they regarded them in common with other manuscripts of a religious character rather as a happy hunting-ground from which to obtain suitable decorative subjects. In some of the Latin Bestiaries there are upwards of one hundred and fifty illustrations, and we can well understand how convenient such books would be to work from. The extent to which actual copying of details took place would depend upon the carver's knowledge of any given animal. There were occasional opportunities for seeing wild beasts. In Henry I's time there was a collection of some kind at Woodstock, and in 1235 the Emperor Frederick sent three leopards (? lions) as a present to Henry III in allusion to the Royal Arms. They were kept at the Tower. In 1252 a white bear arrived from Norway and the Sheriffs of London were charged with the payment of 4*d.* a day for its maintenance. They were further ordered to provide a muzzle and strong iron chain to hold it when out of the water, and a strong rope to hold it when fishing and bathing in the 'water of Thames'. In 1255 Louis sent King Henry an elephant, the first ever seen in England, and Matthew Paris tells us that the people of England flocked together to see the novel sight.¹ This beast was kept at the Tower and died in 1259. There are many subsequent references in the Close Rolls to lions and other animals kept there, being mostly payments for their food and wages for the keepers.²

It is in the group of well-known and domestic animals that we should expect the carvers to be more independent of the manuscripts and to follow their own inclinations. The misericords of Wells Cathedral, where there are many natural history subjects, may be studied in this respect. Their date is about 1330,³ and there are indications that the carver was acquainted with the misericords at Winchester Cathedral, some few years earlier in date. His work is unusually refined in treatment and delicate in execution, and yet he was evidently much affected by adherence to type and was guilty of anatomical errors. The former is displayed in the similarity in the heads of different animals, the heads of the lions being especially weak. The arrangement of the hair over the forehead is stiff and corresponds with that of men and animals at Winchester, and the Cathedral and St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester. The domestic animals, however, as the hound, puppies playing, cat and mouse, and cock, are delightfully natural, and the foliage the same. Carelessness in anatomical details was general, even when it might have been avoided, for at both Wells and

¹ Luard, *Chronica Majora*, vol. v, p. 489.

² Vide H. Sands, 'Extracts from the Documentary History of the Tower of London,' *Archaeological Journal*, vol. lxix, p. 166.

³ Vide *Archaeologia*, vol. lv.



FIG. 10

ELEPHANT AND CASTLE

South Lopham, Norfolk

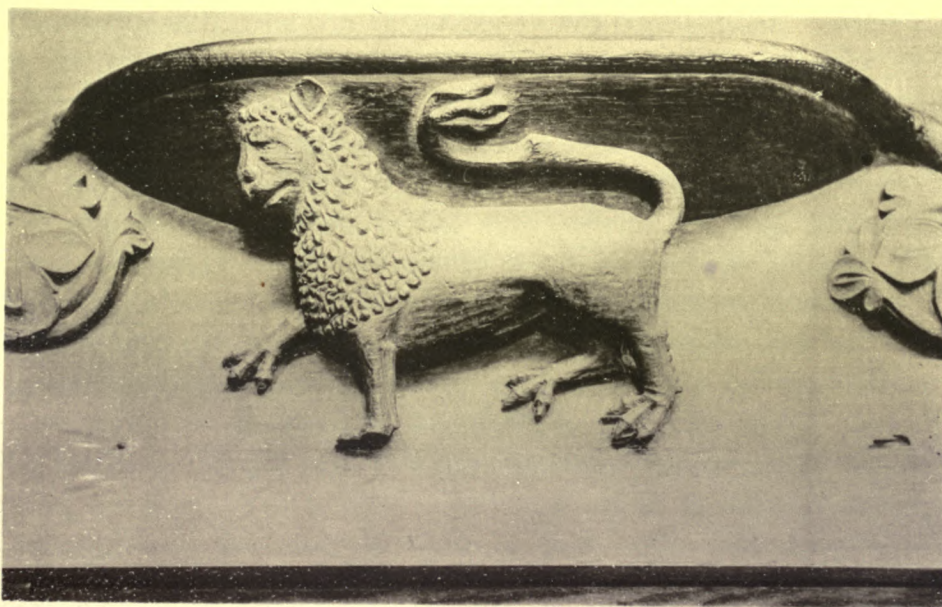


FIG. 11

LION

Exeter Cathedral

Edlesborough (Bucks.) the bat has only three toes and at the latter place the frog has all four feet webbed (fig. 7). This is inexcusable in the case of creatures so accessible, and it suggests that the carvers, accustomed to reproduce so many animals and birds that were foreign to them and the shape of which they were not sure of, became indifferent to accuracy. They always seem to have been in difficulties over the feet, and it must be admitted that the Bestiaries gave them a bad lead; for in the manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the feet of wild beasts and other clawed animals, except perhaps the bear, are nearly always drawn with three toes. Similarly at Exeter, Norwich, and Limerick the lions and other animals have only three toes, and at Christchurch the dog gnawing a bone the same. The feet of camels, dromedaries, and ostriches are either cloven or hoofed, more often the former, and in MS. Bodl. 764 the three dromedaries, ridden by the Magi crowned as Kings, are shod with nails. At Stratford-on-Avon the camel has hoofs and the ostrich long cloven feet; at Windsor the latter has hoofs. The antelope of the Bestiary, which is variously drawn and sometimes approximates to a wild beast of the tiger class, has cloven or clawed feet indifferently, as in MS. 12 F. xiii (B.M.), where they are clawed, and in the Westminster Bestiary, where they are cloven. At Manchester and Limerick it has feet with three toes. At Norwich Cathedral a hairy animal which we cannot identify has clawed fore-feet and cloven hind-feet.

However closely the carvers might be disposed to follow the manuscripts, there were factors which tended to modify the treatment, such as the necessity of adapting the subject to conditions of space and to the requirements of symmetry. This applies particularly to misericords and poppy-heads. It led to much suppression of detail, as it was seldom possible to render in stone or wood everything that could be drawn with pen and ink. In the stone carvings at Alne the subjects are reduced to their simplest elements. At Newton (Yorks.) the animals which are attracted by the sweet breath of the panther in the Bestiary are omitted; at Boston in the syren scene the ship with mast and sail is reduced to a simple boat, and elsewhere is left out altogether. There is a charming composition upon a bench-end of the fifteenth century at South Brent (Som.), where the carver has happily filled the high and narrow panel with a tree, upon the top of which in a fork he has placed a pelican with its nest. The same arrangement is found in manuscripts, the tree being the *Lignum Vitae*. The structure of the pelican's nest provides another link between the Bestiaries and carvings, for in both it is shown as made of plait or basket work. Excellent examples of this may be seen at Kidlington (Oxon.) and Cartmel (Lancs.). At Trent (Som.) the carver was not so happy. He had the more difficult task of arranging a stag and hound in a vertical panel, and produced a singularly awkward composition. A tree is by far the best subject for a bench-

end, unless the latter is divided by a transom. Similarly the need of symmetrical arrangement is apparent on all sides. It caused the carver to duplicate his tigers on the misericord at Chester Cathedral, only one being required by the story (fig. 8), and a good instance is afforded at Boston in the treatment of a pair of knaves who are holding cats and biting their tails to make music. The balancing of the two wing subjects on the same misericord is well shown at Winchester in the pairs of human heads, squirrels and cocks, and at Stratford-on-Avon, where a swan and ostrich face each other.

The earliest carvings of animals in wood in ecclesiastical buildings in this country are on misericords at Exeter Cathedral, dating from about the middle of the thirteenth century. There are subjects from the Bestiary among them, including the elephant (fig. 9), lion, centaur, and syren. This elephant is an interesting beast. It has been suggested that it is due to the presence in England of the elephant recorded by Matthew Paris, and which is illustrated in the second part of the MS. *Chronica Majora* in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The latter is very well drawn, whereas there are anatomical errors in the beast at Exeter. Its tusks project upwards from the lower jaw, as in a wild boar, instead of downwards from the upper jaw, and it has the legs of a horse. This throws an interesting light upon the question as to how far the carvers worked from nature, for here anatomical features of well-known animals are applied to one rarely or never seen. Both artists and carvers went badly astray over the elephant's tusks and legs. Of five illustrations of elephants in manuscripts that we have before us, the only one approaching to nature in these respects is in the Corpus Christi MS. In MS. Roy. 20 B xx, a French romance of the fifteenth century, the elephants' feet are cloven. It is probable that the carver of the elephant at Exeter worked from an incorrect picture, as they are common in the Bestiaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Horses' legs on elephants are quite usual; they may be seen at Gloucester and Chester Cathedrals and Cartmel, and upon the Vernon brass at Tong; and the difficulties of a carver over both legs and trunk are well displayed on a poppy-head at South Lopham (Norfolk) (fig. 10), where the elephant has neither ears nor tusks.

The artists of the Bestiaries showed a preference for the elephant with the castle, which they drew full of armed knights in accordance with the text, which says that the Persians and Indians fight with darts from towers placed upon their backs. The carvers followed this lead, and amongst the remaining examples those at Beverley Minster and St. Mary, Ripon Cathedral, St. George's Chapel (fig. 12), St. Katherine's, Regent's Park, and Manchester Cathedral may be especially mentioned. The elephant at Beverley St. Mary, though a cumbersome beast and with the tusks in the wrong jaw, has considerable approximation to nature. The fighting men are usually omitted, but there are figures in the

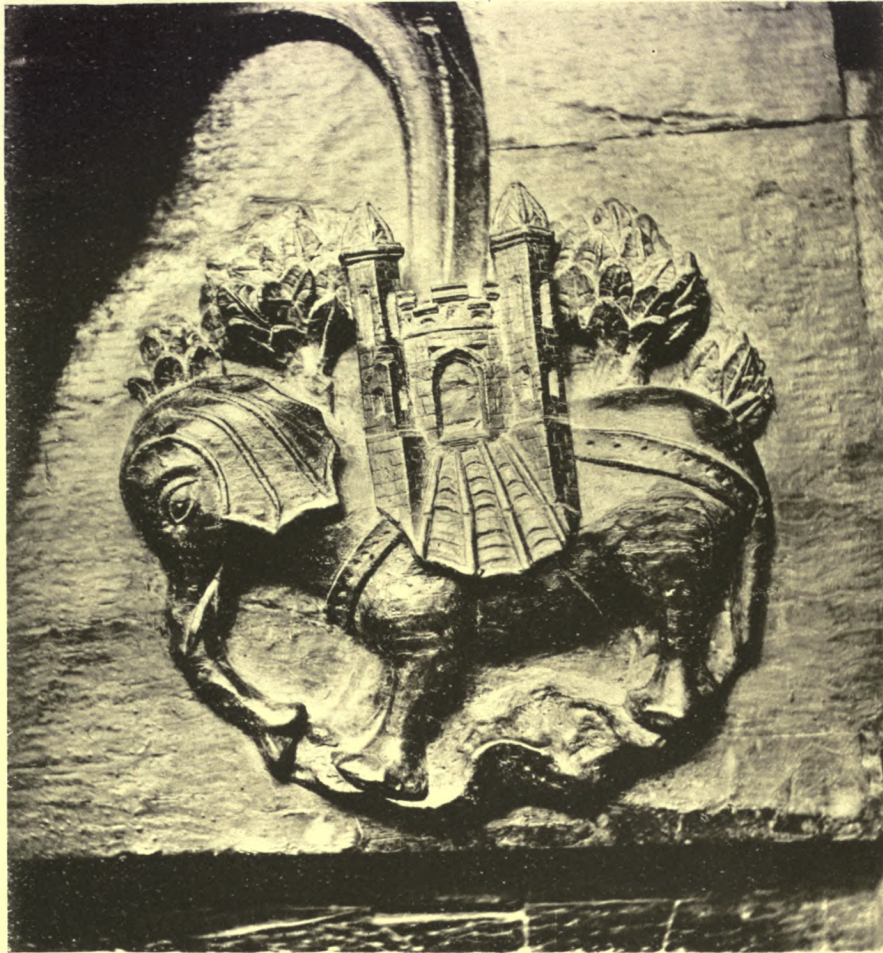


FIG. 12

ELEPHANT AND CASTLE
St. George's Chapel, Windsor



FIG. 13

LION
Wells Cathedral

castle in a few cases, and at Ripon the elephant is holding a man in its trunk. The most elaborate castles are at Manchester, Ripon, and St. George's Chapel. There is an interesting account of fighting with elephants in the first Book of the Maccabees, ch. vi, and many references in Marco Polo.

The text and symbolism given in the Bestiaries relate to two scenes which are not often illustrated in the manuscripts, and have not as yet been reported in ecclesiastical carving so far as we know. The first is where the elephants, wishing for children, go to Paradise, where man was first placed, and there the female gives to the male the fruit of the mandragora-tree, whereupon she conceives; and when the time for bringing forth comes they go into a pool, and the male elephant guards the female for fear of the dragon, which is its enemy and would kill its young one. The other illustrates the story of the elephant having no joints in its knees, so that if it falls down it cannot get up and has to sleep standing, leaning against a tree. The hunters being aware of this cut a slit in the tree, so that when the elephant leans against it, it gives way and both fall down together. Thereupon it trumpets loudly, and first a single great elephant comes and then twelve elephants, but they are unable to raise it; lastly there comes a little elephant, which thrusts its trunk under that which was fallen and enables it to rise. The first of these scenes symbolized the Fall of Man, and the second his Redemption. Christ as the small elephant was able to raise fallen man, which the Law and the Prophets, the great elephants, had failed to do. A good illustration of four elephants, the dragon, and the mandragora-tree together may be seen in MS. Sloane 278 (B. M.). The scarcity of elephants in carving other than with the castle may be due to a preference for the direct representation of the Fall.

The hostility between the elephant and dragon comes out in another way, in the scene of the great fight which is described and illustrated in the Bestiaries under the heading of *Draco* and carved upon a misericord at Carlisle. This episode is graphically recorded by Pliny (Book viii, chs. 11, 12). The miniatures and carving alike show the dragon trying to suffocate the elephant, which is enveloped in its coils. In the carving the latter has a curious trunk and cloven feet.

The attitude of the lion at Exeter (fig. 11) may be compared with the illustrations in MSS. Add. 11283 and Harl. 3244 in the British Museum. Both show a maned lion with a fierce expression standing with its tail curled over its back. In the second manuscript the heading runs: '*De leone rege bestiarum*'. The lion is the king of beasts, and is therefore a type of Christ. Its various points—its courage, as indicated by its firm, square breast; its endurance, by its head; its weaker hind-quarters, its claws, and other characteristics, are all used as types of various qualities in our Lord. There are many stories told of the lion in the Bestiaries, mostly based on Pliny, but

carvings which correspond are difficult to find. The lion sleeping with its eyes open, in the Bestiaries a type of the dual nature of Christ, is represented upon a misericord at Ripon Cathedral, and may be intended at Wells (fig. 13), Henry VIII's Chapel, and other places, where it is lying or crouching down. Both artists and carvers had to portray it as asleep and yet being on the alert, which was not easy and which meant a compromise. The illustration in MS. 12 F. XIII may be studied with advantage. The lion crasing its track with its tail when hunted and bringing its dead cubs to life again by breathing on them are not yet reported here in either stone or wood carving; but the latter subject is well shown on the cornice on the north side of Strasburg Cathedral.

The Bestiaries also enable us to distinguish the carvings of unicorns. These occur in two forms, which agree with the two forms illustrated and described in the manuscripts. The first is where the unicorn is alone, as upon a poppy-head at Westwell (Kent) (fig. 14), on misericords at Beverley Minster and Durham Castle chapel, and in the two spandrils of a bench-front at Great Gransden (Hunts.). This beast is 'monoceros' of the Bestiary, and represents what the ancients called the Indian ass. It is probably the rhinoceros.¹ The description, with some slight variation, is taken from Solinus, and says that it is 'a great beast with a terrible bellow, the body of a horse, the feet of an elephant, a tail very like that of a stag (but Solinus, 'cauda suilla, capite cervino'), and a horn in the middle of its forehead, which projects with an astonishing magnificance to the length of four feet, and is so sharp that anything that it strikes is easily pierced by the blow. It does not come alive into man's power, and it can be killed indeed but cannot be captured.' There is a particularly good illustration of 'monoceros' in MS. Harl. 4751. The carving at Westwell is rude, and suggests an unskilled and perhaps local hand.

'Monoceros' is not to be confounded with 'Unicornis' of the Unicorn and Virgin legend, which is found also in carving fairly frequently. Good examples of the latter may be seen on misericords at Boston (fig. 15), Nantwich, Ely, Chester, and other places. In the Bestiaries the two animals are separately described and illustrated. In MS. Harl. 3244 they are carefully distinguished in the headings, which are respectively: 'De monocerote secundum quod aliud est quam unicornu' and 'De Unicornu vel Rinocerote'. In Marco Polo, after a description of the rhinoceros in Java Minor, we get: 'They are not of that description of animals that suffer themselves to be taken by maidens, as our people suppose, but are quite of a contrary nature' (Bk. iii, ch. 12). The unicorn of the legend is described as a small animal like a kid, with a horn in the middle of its forehead, and is so exceedingly swift that no

¹ For arguments as to its identity see *Ancient India described by Ctesias*, by J. W. McCrindle, M.A., 1882. Pliny describes the 'monoceros' in Book viii, ch. 31 (21) and the Indian rhinoceros in ch. 29 (20), but his sources of information as to the two are clearly different. Solinus also gives separate descriptions.



FIG. 14

MONOCEROS

Westwell



FIG. 15

UNICORN AND VIRGIN

Boston



FIG. 16

HERALDIC ANTELOPE

King's Lynn



FIG. 17

NATURAL ANTELOPE

King's Lynn



FIG. 18

ANTELOPE

Eynesbury

hunter can capture it. It is taken by a trick. A young virgin is brought to the wood where its haunt is and is left alone there, when the unicorn runs to her, lies down and places its head in her lap and falls asleep. The hunter then comes up and kills it. By this story the incarnation and death of Christ at the hands of the Jews is signified. The manuscript illustrations and carvings alike show the girl seated clasping the unicorn round the neck, and a hunter spearing it. The artists seem to have been confused as to its nature, as it is variously drawn as a woolly sheep, calf, deer, or horse. In carving it usually resembles a horse. At Boston the work is rough, and the attitude of the hunter much affected by exigencies of space.

The antelope is another interesting animal, partly because of its obscure origin and partly because there was a remarkable development of it as a heraldic device. The natural antelope was apparently imperfectly known in the Middle Ages. Pliny has but little to say about it, and it does not figure as such in the Bestiaries. It is not surprising, then, that examples in carving are scarce, and this makes it all the more necessary to record the beautiful instance upon an elbow of the stalls in the church of St. Nicholas, King's Lynn (fig. 17). It has long slender horns and mane.

The antelope of the Bestiary differs from the natural antelope in its horns, and from internal evidence it is likely that its story came from an Eastern source. It appears under the name of *Antalops*, the etymology of which is unknown. The manuscripts describe it as so swift that no hunter can approach it. It has long horns 'after the semblance of a saw, so that it can cut down great trees and cast them to the ground. When it is thirsty, it goes to the great river Euphrates, and there is a bush there which is called in the Greek language "herecine",¹ having tender and wide-spreadings hoots; and it begins to make play with its horns in the bush, and while it plays its horns become entangled in the shoots. Then the hunter hearing its cry comes up and kills it.' The antelope is man, and its two horns are the two Testaments by which he may cut off and destroy all vices, bodily and spiritual. The water and the bush are types of drunkenness and luxury. The miniatures show the antelope with serrated horns entangled in the bush, and being speared or hacked by a hunter, who is sometimes in mail. This scene is difficult to find in architecture, the nearest approach to it being upon the misericord at Manchester Cathedral, already mentioned, where the antelope is either sawing a tree or entangled in it. The hunter is omitted. The antelope alone, with serrated horns, appears upon a poppy-head at Eynesbury (fig. 18), where there are many carvings of animals similar in type, and on misericords at Norwich Cathedral, Limerick, and Durham Castle.

¹ Probably a Latinized form of *ἐρείκη*, heath, heather; a taller and more bushy species than our common heather (Liddell & Scott). Pliny mentions it in Book XI, ch. 15 (16).

From this beast was developed the heraldic antelope, a very common device in stone and wood carving of the fifteenth century. No instances of it are recorded prior to that time so far as we know, and there is a strong presumption that it was composed for Henry V himself; hence it became generally popular. It usually appears with serrated horns, boar's tusks, cloven feet, and a crown round its neck, to which a chain is attached. The tusks, which Antalops of the Bestiary never has, were no doubt added by the heralds to give individuality. In shape it is by no means uniform. It may be anything from a graceful antelope-like creature, with well-defined corrugations and serrations upon its horns as at King's Lynn (fig. 16), to a maned lion-like beast as upon a misericord at St. George's Chapel. Other examples may be seen on misericords at Ripon and Canon Pyon (Hereford), on cornices at Burwell (Cambs.), and on bench-ends at Ufford (Suff.) and Soham (Cambs.). The most important, perhaps, is in stone on the vault above King Henry's own tomb at Westminster. The clever way in which the Lynn carver has disposed his two antelopes on the elbows will be noticed.¹

The misericord at Chester, with the legend of the tiger and mirror (fig. 8), has been referred to as an instance of the regard paid to symmetry; it will be seen from the story how well the carver has arranged his subject. The Bestiary tells us that the tiger is so fierce that the hunter who wishes to obtain the cubs is unable to do so without recourse to a trick. He waits until the tigress leaves her den, when he goes in and takes the cubs, and on his departure leaves mirrors in the path or hanging upon the trees. The tigress returns, and finding her cubs gone, starts in pursuit of the thief; but catching sight of herself in one of the mirrors, stops as if spell-bound, thinking that she sees her cub. Realizing that she is deceived, she resumes the pursuit, when the horseman finding himself being overtaken drops another mirror. The tigress stops, and seeing herself again reflected in it, fondles it as if it were her cub. This is repeated, and the time gained enables the hunter to reach a place of safety. This scene occurs regularly in the Bestiaries, and is based on Pliny's account (Bk. viii, ch. 25 (18)), in which, however, he does not mention the mirrors, but says that the hunter drops one of the whelps and thus delays the pursuit. The symbolism is given in MS. 3516 in the Arsenal Library, Paris: 'We are the tigers, and the cubs are our souls. The hunter is the Devil, who tempts us with the pleasures of the world to forget the care of our souls, which he seizes and carries off to hell.'

The misericord at Chester appears to be the only instance which shows the full scene. The hunter is in armour of the camail period, and holds the cub in his left hand. The carver has arranged his subject very adroitly, for in order to get the tall rider comfortably under the ledge he has made him bending

¹ For notes on the history of the heraldic antelope see *Archaeological Journal*, vol. lxxviii, p. 173.



FIG. 19

HYENA
Carlisle Cathedral



FIG. 20

CAMEL
Ufford



FIG. 21

CALLITRIX
Ufford

down in the act of dropping the mirror. The lack of proportion between rider and horse will be noticed, and the similarity of the tigers to dogs. One of them is biting the mirror. The subject occurs in an abbreviated form upon the cornices at Burwell, and occasionally upon poppy-heads. It is well known in heraldry, and may be seen in the spandrils of the fireplace in the lower room at Little Mote, Eynesford, the home of the Sybill family.

The hyena is another very scarce beast. There is an early stone carving of it with title at Alne, in which it is biting what we know from the Bestiary to be either a bone or the limb of a corpse. By far the best example in wood carving is upon a misericord at Carlisle (fig. 19). It shows the hyena with long ears and hog-mane standing over and biting a corpse which it has dragged out of a tomb, but the carver has omitted the latter. Otherwise he has followed the manuscripts faithfully. The text repeats Solinus and Pliny, who give many wonderful items of information, one being that the hyena is male and female in alternate years. It was therefore held to be a filthy beast, and in the French version of Philip de Thaun, written about 1121 (MS. Nero A.V. Brit. Mus.), this is used by the moralist to signify a man who is covetous and luxurious, and who imitates the manners of a changeable woman when he should be firm. In the Latin Bestiaries it is a type of the Jews who at first served the living God and then gave themselves up to luxury and idolatry. The hyena occasionally appears upon a poppy-head, as at Swavesey (Cambs.), where it is seated on its haunches, and there is no corpse. In such cases it can only be identified by its mane.

Carvings of camels are fairly frequent, but they are lacking in skilful treatment, except in one instance. It is doubtful if the carvers saw the live animal. The camel with single hump appears upon a misericord at Beverley Minster, a bench-end at Ufford (Suff.) (fig. 20), and upon a poppy-head at Isleham (Cambs.). There are others with two humps upon bench-ends at Swaffham Bulbeck (Cambs.) and Eynesbury, and upon misericords at Stratford-on-Avon and Boston (fig. 22). The latter is by far the best-executed carving of a camel known to us and is fairly naturally drawn, including the feet. The carver had to fit it into a small space and has done it very cleverly by putting it into a kneeling attitude. We should like to think that he worked from the natural animal, but the probability is that he had a good picture, as he has carved a very quaint crocodile close by, which could not possibly have been done from nature. These carvings are altogether superior in execution to the unicorn scene and would not be by the same hand. The camels at Ufford and Boston have woolly humps which closely correspond with illustrations in the Bestiaries, as in MS. Harl. 4751. The different kinds are described; the Arabian camel is said to have two humps and the Bactrian one. This mistake may be traced to the text of the *Polyhistor*, in which Solinus seems to have misread Pliny. The mistake was repeated by the commentators, as in Isidore's *Etymology*, and passed into

the Bestiary, but which way the carvers regarded it we do not know, as they produced both kinds.

There is a full account of the camel in the Bestiaries, and the symbolism is given. Christ is the spiritual camel, for as it lies down to receive its load, so He humbled Himself to bear the sins of the world. The dromedary is also described, and there are pictures of it being ridden, sometimes by the Magi. In MS. Harl. 3244 directions are given about strapping the rider on, 'lest the ligaments of his limbs be dislocated by the pace;' and we learn that it was on dromedaries that the Magi came to Bethlehem, traversing the most distant parts from the East in twelve days. There is a late example of a dromedary with rider upon a bench-end at Sefton (Lancs.).

Apes are very common in wood carving. They occur in many different scenes, most of which come within the class of satirical subjects, such as the ape posing as the doctor. A well-carved but ill-proportioned ape appears as a decorative feature on a stall-arm at Southwold (fig. 23). There is an attractive story of the ape and its beloved and hated twins in the Bestiaries, but it does not seem to be directly represented in ecclesiastical carving. It is a type of the Devil, and its two young ones carried in its arms in front and clinging to its back are the bad and good people respectively. The former, whom the Devil loves, are carried off to hell, but the latter, whom he cannot influence, remain behind to go to heaven. In the chapter-house at York there is a stone carving of the thirteenth century, in which an adult ape is driving a young one in front of it with a swish, which may be founded on this story. Elsewhere the ape is a symbol of the hypocrite.

The great apes are also represented in wood carving, the Satyrus being perhaps the most important. It got its name from a supposed resemblance in appearance and habits to the classical Satyr, and as the artists of the Bestiaries did not know what it was like, they drew it as a Satyr. Thus we find them in the manuscripts as little bearded men with horns, horse-tail, and human or goat legs, holding various objects such as a thyrsus, branch, snake, vase and goblet, or axe and shield. A good illustration may be seen in MS. Harl. 3244. The description was taken from Solinus, and merely says that there are apes which are called Satyrs, with faces in a manner pleasing, and in gesture and movement restless. The Satyrus is probably the orang-utan, and Aelian gives an interesting account of how they run up to the tops of the hills when hunted and throw rocks down on the hunters and kill them, and that they cannot be caught unless old or sickly (Bk. xvi, ch. 21). He alone mentions their tails.

The Satyrus is carved upon a misericord of the fourteenth century at Chichester Cathedral. It is semi-man, semi-goat in form, but has no horns. It is holding its tail. A more interesting carving, a little later in date, exists in a quatrefoil of the stalls at Lincoln Minster (fig. 24), where there are many



FIG. 22

CAMEL
Boston



FIG. 23

APE
Southwold



FIG. 24

SATYRUS
Lincoln Minster



FIG. 25

GRIFFIN
Norwich Cathedral



FIG. 26

SQUIRREL
Norwich Cathedral

animal and bird subjects. Its form is so like a natural ape of the orang-utan kind that it suggests that the carver had seen one, but on the other hand he was evidently influenced by conventional treatment, for he has given it a wonderful pair of horns, which he must have borrowed from a sheep. This ape holds its tail as at Chichester.

The Callitriches, or smooth-haired apes, are also described and occasionally illustrated in the Bestiaries. They are said to have a beard and a bushy tail, and to live nowhere but in Ethiopia; and they may be easily caught. An illustration is given in MS. Harl. 4751 in the same panel as the Satyrus, and a good carving occurs upon a bench-end at Ufford (fig. 21), in which the beard corresponds closely with that in the manuscript. The tail is omitted as it did not fit in with the ape's position on the bench-end. The Cynocephalus, the dog-headed ape or baboon, is carved on the same bench.

The misericords at Norwich Cathedral provide many examples of skilful carving. The plan of the seats suggests work of two different dates, the earlier being of the second half of the fourteenth century, but the style of the carving hardly suggests a long interval. The heads of the animals are cast very much in one mould and indicate that the carver worked to type. The misericord of the man, attired in tight-fitting 'cote', attacking a griffin which has seized a sheep (fig. 25) is one of the older set and shows a combination not often seen, for the griffin is usually standing alone, as at Chichester Cathedral and Limerick, or holds an animal, limb, bambino, or man in its grasp. Examples in stone and wood carving are numerous in churches and follow the Bestiary pictures closely, the idea in both being to display the griffin as a particularly powerful and ferocious creature. The text of the Latin manuscripts is based on the well-known story of the warfare between the griffins and the Arimaspi, and says that the griffin has a great aversion to horses and tears men to pieces. In MS. Harl. 4751 it is grasping a horse. In Mandeville it is strong enough to carry off a horse or two oxen yoked together. The Arsenal version says that it can fly away with a live ox, and the symbolism is founded upon this. The griffin and its young ones are the devils in hell; the ox is the man who lives in mortal sin. When it is time for him to die the griffin comes seeking food, and carries off his 'caitiff soul' and throws it to its young ones in the darkness of hell, where it remains in the power of its enemies for ever.

Of the wing subjects on the misericords at Norwich Cathedral there are two which are well rendered: the squirrel and a large fish swallowing a smaller one. The squirrel is one of those subjects for which we should hardly expect the carvers to go beyond the natural creature for a model, but this is by no means certain. Its treatment is practically constant; in both manuscripts and carvings it is seated cracking a nut. There is an excellent example upon a misericord at Winchester Cathedral, *c.* 1300, where it is seated on a branch,

and another at Lincoln in a quatrefoil of the stalls. Abroad at Ulm it is treated in the same way. The carving at Norwich (fig. 26) shows the squirrel seated upon a leaf, for which there may be some reason apart from its serving as a background. It probably illustrates its method of crossing a river as told in the Bestiary. So far we have found the squirrel in only one group of manuscripts, under the name of *Cyrogrillus*, the best illustration being in MS. 22 at Westminster. In a manuscript in the Cambridge University Library its voyage across a river is shown. The account is pretty and worth repeating: 'They say of this creature that as often as it wants to cross a river or torrent, it either spreads out a leaf of a tree for itself for a vessel, or hollows out a mushroom or some dry integument of the kind into the shape of a shell, in which it embarks, and paddling with its fore-feet or raising its tail for a sail, with its little bark laden with nuts, is conveyed across to the other shore.' We know of no symbolism connected with the squirrel.

The other carving probably represents a sea-monster called the *Aspido-Chelone*, the sea-tortoise or turtle. It is swallowing another fish (fig. 27). There are other good instances on bench-panels at Kidlington and Great Gransden, and on poppy-heads at Isleham and Swaffham Bulbeck. The carving at Norwich is composed in a circular form, as is usual in the wing subjects there. Although *Aspido* is often more or less curved, this special requirement seems to have led the carver to make use of the dolphin in its conventional attitude of leaping as a model. It has spines, following the description in Pliny and the Bestiaries of the spined dolphin of the Nile, which kills the crocodile by cutting it underneath. We cannot, however, recall any instance in manuscripts of the dolphin swallowing another fish. There is an excellent picture of dolphins leaping in MS. Harl. 3244, but their heads are badly drawn. In the Westminster Bestiary the dolphin is straight, with a blunt, almost human-looking face. In both these cases they have fish-scales. At Swavesey there is a poppy-head composed of a fish bent round, but it is not necessarily a dolphin on that account: it is so arranged to suit the position.

The *Aspido-Chelone* must not be confounded with *Balena*, the whale, although it is sometimes compared with it. The illustrations in the manuscripts show the former with a ship anchored to it and a fire with cooking-pot upon its back, which one of the sailors is usually blowing up with quite modern-looking bellows. A shoal of small fish swims into its mouth, a feature that the carvers adopted. The story is well known. The beast spreads the sand of the sea over its back and rising to the surface remains motionless. The sailors thinking that it is an island anchor their ship to it, land and light their fire, when the monster feeling the heat plunges down and drowns them. Similarly when it is hungry it opens its mouth and gapes, and from its mouth proceeds so sweet a smell that the little fish swim in and are swallowed. *Aspido* is the Devil



FIG. 27

ASPIDO
Norwich Cathedral



FIG. 28

MERMAN
St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester



FIG. 29

SYREN

Cartmel



FIG. 30

SYREN

Carlisle Cathedral

who deludes careless people and those who are attracted by the pleasures of the world ; when they are entered into his power, they are soon destroyed.

The merman and mermaid or syren are well represented in wood carving. The latter is perhaps the most frequently used of the symbolic subjects introduced through the Bestiary, but the merman or Triton is not mentioned in it so far as we know. He seems to have been introduced into carving by way of companion to the syren. They occur together in a few cases, as at Winchester, where they form the wing subjects upon a misericord. The merman holds a fish, and the syren a double comb and mirror. Another good instance is at Stratford-on-Avon, where they are side by side as the central subject. The merman alone is carved upon a misericord of the beginning of the fourteenth century at St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester (fig. 28), where the work is very good. He is in a hood, the tip of which is brought over to the front, and holds his fish-tail. Carvings of the syren alone are so numerous that they are difficult to select for notice. The most interesting, perhaps, is at Cartmel, where the treatment is very curious (fig. 29); the carver must have been a person of some originality or had an unusual model to work from. He has composed his syren as a garish female with double fish-tail, as in classical representations of Scylla ; her hair is long and wavy, that falling on her left being plaited, that on her right being loose. In one hand she holds an ornamented comb with both fine and coarse teeth, and in the other a mirror with richly chased rim. On the Exeter misericords the syrens and some of the animals have tails composed of foliage, which is also seen on animals in the thirteenth-century Bestiaries. On the north side of Henry VII's Chapel there is a syren of early sixteenth-century date, which is differently treated and unlike English work. Instead of the graceful forms that we usually have she is decidedly coarse, and the setting of rocks and trees is quite uncommon. The mirror which she holds has a foot.

In some manuscripts the ship is shown. In MS. Harl. 4751 the mast and sail have fallen overboard ; one man is steering and another is stopping up his ears. The syren in fish form hovers above, holding the vessel's prow and a fish. The scarce instance of the ship in carving at Boston has been alluded to.

The classical source of the syren is shown by its inclusion among the birds in the Bestiaries. In the early manuscript in the Bibl. Roy. Brussels (MS. 10074), dating from the tenth century, there are three of them in bird form, two of whom are tearing a man to pieces, while the third plays a musical instrument resembling a guitar. In the Arsenal manuscript they are in both bird and fish form. The bird form is rare in carving here, but the feet and feathers combined with the fish-tail may be seen on misericords at Carlisle (fig. 30) and All Saints, Hereford. In carving, feathers and scales are often very much alike. Bird syrens with musical instruments may be seen in the

second vase-room at the British Museum, and the fish form upon the pavement (cast) from the Roman Villa at Halicarnassus, in which Venus, holding her locks and a mirror, rises from the sea supported by two mermaids with curled fish-tails.

Three examples at least exist in wood carving of another scene, in which a syren is suckling a lion. They are upon misericords at Wells, Norwich, and Edlesborough. Up to the present we have found no reference to this in any manuscript, and are unable to express any opinion as to its meaning.

The owl teased by birds, upon one of the misericords at Norwich, shows a composition in which regard for symmetry was paramount (fig. 32). Nothing could be more exact. It is the finest of the carvings of this subject, but other good examples at St. George's Chapel (twice), Beverley Minster, and Gloucester Cathedral should not be passed over. There are but few illustrations of this scene in the Bestiaries, but miniatures occur in MS. Bodl. 764 and MS. Harl. 4751. The owls are there classified, according to Pliny, under the names of *Noctua* or *Nicticorax* the night-hawk, *Ulula* the screech-owl, and *Bubo* the horned or eared owl, but neither the artists nor carvers adhered to it, as they are drawn indiscriminately. It is *Bubo* that is mobbed; it is a type of the sinner who, when his ill deeds come into the light of day, has to bear the reproofs of good people. *Noctua*, with a rat in its mouth, is also carved at Norwich Cathedral, as a wing subject; as a bird of night it is a type of the Jews who loved to remain in spiritual darkness.

The bat is also included in the list of birds in the Bestiaries; and as it is a common object in nature, we should expect it to be well represented in carving, but it does not occur very frequently. It is usually shown full face on misericords for reasons of symmetry, as at Wells and Edlesborough (fig. 31).

The bat at Wells is beautifully carved, but in some ways the example at Edlesborough is the more interesting. In both places the carvers disregarded natural features. At Wells, besides the mistake in the number of toes already mentioned, the membranes project beyond the feet and are not joined to them; at Edlesborough the arms are distorted and the long ears are those of a dragon close by, but the keel-like chest has been fairly successfully reproduced. Abroad the bat is carved among other bestiary subjects on the canopies of the thirteenth-century stalls in the cathedral of St. Pierre, Poitiers.

The illustrations of bats in the Bestiaries are as a rule poor. They approximate to mice with wings, and are not usually full face. The texts describe the bat as an '*avis ignobilis*', and yet as a quadruped and viviparous and provided with teeth, 'qualities such as are not usually found in other birds.' Its form is that of a mouse, and it emits a sound 'which is not so much like a cry as a squeak'. The formation of its wings and manner of flight are described, and its habit of suspension is used for purposes of symbolism: 'And



FIG. 31

BAT
Edlesborough



FIG. 32

OWL TEASED BY BIRDS
Norwich Cathedral

this mean creature has such a nature, that they cling to each other and hang from any spot like a bunch of grapes, and if the one at the top should let go, all of them are scattered, which comes about by a kind of bond of sympathy which is difficult to find in men of this world.'

It will be seen from this short survey that the subject may be approached from various points of view, viz. Natural History, Archaeology, or Craftsmanship. As to the men who did this figure carving, there are no sources of information known to us; probably large series of misericords and bench-ends were done in the 'shop' by established carvers, but there must have been much local work done in small places by less skilled men, who produced unicorns and dragons of the class seen at Westwell and Weston-in-Gordano. The illustrations in this paper have been chosen as being typical rather than especially fine examples of carving. The work at many places could not of necessity be included. At Ely, where the misericords are of the fourteenth century, there are comparatively few animals among the central subjects, and the same applies to Worcester. On the whole the success of the mediaeval carver in reproducing natural features is not very striking, although the execution is often good. The inclination to work from books from motives of convenience was no doubt too strong for them.

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A 17th Century Painted Room.

From a Water Colour Drawing by E. W. TRISTRAM.

A PAINTED ROOM OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY E. W. TRISTRAM.

IN the year 1906 an old house in Botolph Lane, Eastcheap, was rapidly falling into disrepair, and, in the absence of funds sufficient to repair and make it habitable, it was demolished. That this was a calamity the interesting relics which it contained, and which are described in the present article, are sufficient to show, without any eulogy of the house itself. On the eastern side of the lane, some way down towards Thames Street, a wide entrance gave access to a cobble-paved court, at the farther side of which stood this fine example of a city mansion. It was erected in 1669, a few years after the Great Fire had swept over this district of London and gave Sir Christopher Wren free scope for the exercise of his remarkable talents. A tradition even exists that this house was not only designed but occupied by Wren, when the building of St. Paul's Cathedral made it necessary for him to live in the vicinity. To show that this tradition has a foundation of truth would, however, be impossible. Although the beauty of its design suggests that it was a product of Wren's genius, there are apparently no proofs of this and no extant records of his tenancy. In fact the evidence, such as it is, leads to an opposite conclusion, for, during this period of his activity, he is said, amongst other places, to have lived at Bowyer, or Manor House, Camberwell, now destroyed.

More probable is the suggestion that it was the dwelling of a well-to-do city merchant. By an Act passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, all merchandise brought to the Port of London had to be landed at the Custom House, between London Bridge and the Tower of London. Botolph Lane is within this district, and the house would thus have been in close proximity to the wharves and warehouses. The character of the painted panels which form the subject of the present article, and which were executed twenty-seven years after the construction of the house, tends to the supposition that it was at that time occupied by a West India merchant.

On the left side of the entrance hall was a door, opening into a small room, fifteen feet wide and eighteen feet long, lit by two windows. This room was apparently the gem of the whole building; the ceiling was of richly wrought plaster-work, the plain circular space in the centre was surrounded by a wreath of fruit and leaves, and the spandrels were filled with elaborate scroll ornament, all in very high relief. The fireplace, situated opposite the door, was also a fine

piece of workmanship. The walls were entirely panelled, and the painting with which these panels had been adorned constituted the chief glory of the room. Fortunately, on the demolition of the old house, this room was preserved almost entire and was reconstructed with certain enlargements in Sir John Cass's Schools in Duke Street, Aldgate, to which foundation the original house belonged. The chief differences between the room in its present and original state lie in the modifications which this slight difference in plan made necessary. Thus the arrangement of the painted panels is not quite the same, and the door is now placed at the side of the fireplace in the space once occupied by a cupboard. The framing surrounding the panels is unfortunately not the original, which apparently it was found impossible to preserve.¹

The coloured illustration (Plate LXIV) is a view of the room as it existed after its completion in 1696. Until the last few months the panels have remained so obscured with repeated coats of brown varnish that of some it was wellnigh impossible to say they had ever been painted, and on others the painting was so indistinct that the subjects were scarcely discernible. It is for this reason that various writers have referred to them as being of a deep mahogany-brown colour, or suggested that the subjects represented the history of the growth of tobacco, or the expeditions and discoveries of Sir Walter Raleigh or of Columbus. When the room was moved in 1906, four panels and the door were unfortunately left out in the rebuilding. Happily they were preserved, and have now been restored, as far as possible, to their original positions. It was not known that the door bore any traces of painting, but it has now been found to have had its panels decorated with paintings forming part of the general scheme. Now that all the paintings have been freed from their repeated coatings of brown varnish, an extremely interesting and beautiful scheme of decoration has been brought to light.

The painted panels, numbering thirty-three in all, have suffered in varying degrees from the ravages of time; the ten opposite the windows and the one over the fireplace are in the best state of preservation, but with those near the windows exposure to light and moisture has played havoc. The prevailing colour of the painting is a fair, bright green, so that it would be almost correct to describe the paintings as being in monochrome, were it not that the central objects and figures in the compositions are picked out in a colour verging on pale yellow or brown. In character, the painting belongs rather to the genre of panel or decorative painting than to that of the framed picture, approaching as it does most nearly to the type of the japanned and painted cabinet. The swiftness and certainty of touch with which it is executed clearly indicate the hand of a master in the art.

¹ Descriptions of the old house are to be found in an article by J. C. Paget in the *Architectural Review* for April 1906, and in *London Vanished and Vanishing*, by Philip Norman.



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It is difficult to state concisely what the subjects represent. They are not the 'Chinoiseries' which were becoming popular towards the close of the seventeenth century, although there is Chinese influence, neither are they exclusively East Indian or West Indian. In accordance with the prevailing ideas of the times, the painter is extremely vague in his representations, which embody a mass of romantic lore regarding the life, customs, occupations, fauna and flora of remote races, both Eastern and Western. The sources upon which his work is based are not personal experiences; he owes much to travellers' tales, like those of Sir John Chardin, and much to the researches of Sir Hans Sloane and his contemporaries, which found expression in the travel-books of that generation, but his debt to the subjects depicted on cabinets and other importations from the East is no less considerable. This scattered material is combined with wonderful skill, and presents a very complete record of primitive life, which he probably intended to represent that of the West Indies.

To show that similar subjects were in vogue at the time, we have only to quote certain extracts from the *Diary of John Evelyn*.

30th December, 1665.—'To Woodcot, where I supped at my Lady Mordaunt's at Ashstead, where was a room hung with pintado, full of figures great and small, prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of the Indians, with their habits.'

9th October, 1676.—'I went with Mrs. Godolphin and my wife to Blackwall, to see some Indian curiosities.'

30th July, 1682.—'Went to visit our good neighbour Mr. Bohun, whose whole house is a cabinet of all elegancies, especially Indian; in the hall are contrivances of Japan Screens, instead of wainscot, . . . the landscapes of the screens represent the manner of living and country of the Chinese.'

13th July, 1693.—'I saw the Queen's rare cabinets and collection of china . . . divers other China and Indian cabinets, screens and hangings.'

23rd September, 1700.—'I went to visit Mr. Pepys at Clapham where he has a very noble and wonderfully well furnished house, especially with Indian and Chinese curiosities.'

The landscape consists mainly of forest scenery, and here considerable care has been taken to give the trees and plant-life a tropical character. Although the natives are represented as leading an outdoor life, engaged in primitive pursuits, and in some cases living in huts erected in the branches of trees, yet the painter has at the same time endeavoured to depict a higher state of civilization, and on many of the panels, instead of the forest background, he has introduced imposing buildings and magnificent cities which possibly are mere fancies of the painter or, more possibly, echoes of the rumoured splendour of the early architecture of certain Mexican races. However, there is nothing Mexican in the character of the architecture, which differs little from the English Renaissance style of Wren's era, except in its free imaginative treatment. It includes a certain Chinese element, clearly suggested by the architecture represented on cabinets imported from the East, and added to this is a wealth of ornamental detail, itself

suggestive of Louis-Quatorze decorations. The impression is that of gorgeous and fairylike palaces. The panel over the fireplace, perhaps the best of the whole series, represents a city visible through a faint haze; here, the detail is thrown into relief by the glow of the setting sun—there, is shrouded by the shadows of evening. It has an air of mystery, suggesting a city of fine buildings and embodying the impression conveyed to one by the *tout ensemble* of St. Paul's and Wren's other London churches, as seen in the evening of a sunny day.

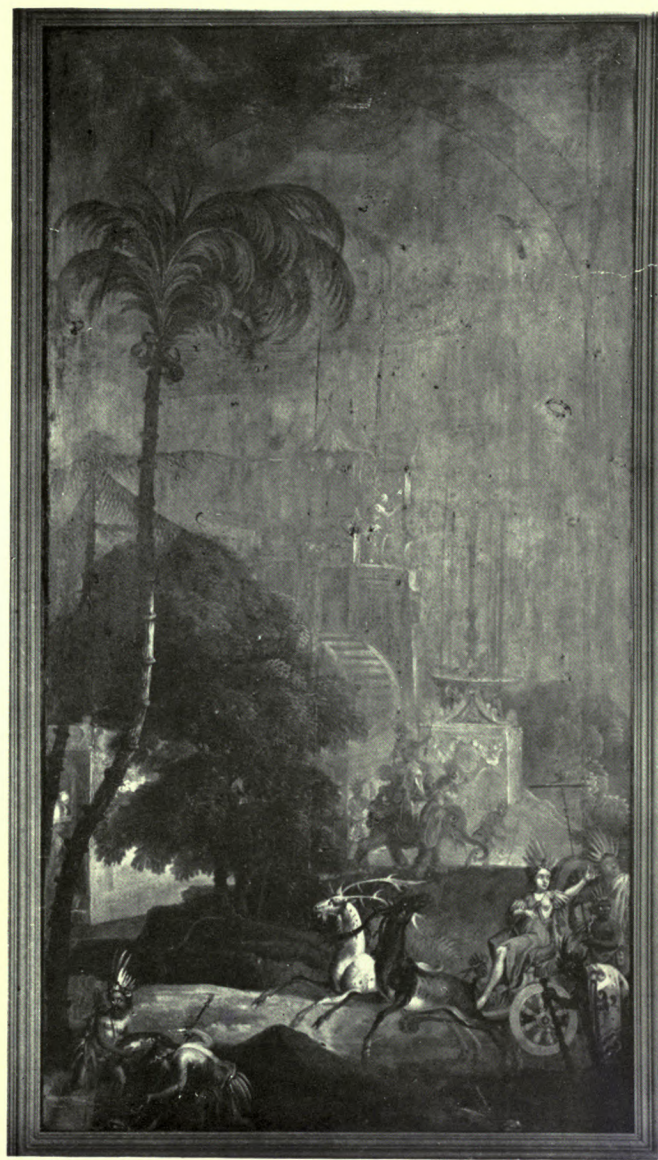
As was the case in the West Indies, the natives are an intermixture of two distinct races, the darkness of one betraying negro blood, the fairness of the other betokening a European origin. With the exception of an adornment of feathers, most of them wear little clothing, but some, especially women, are garbed in a costume which is a curious combination of a gorgeous long-trained European dress and a barbaric array of feathers. Some of these natives seem to be queens or princesses, and suggest that the painter had in mind the romantic history of the Virginian princess Pocahontas, known as La Belle Sauvage, who, having married an Englishman named John Rolfe, came to England on a visit. She was received at the Court by the Queen, but died in 1617, when about to return to her native country, and is buried at Gravesend parish church.

The incidents depicted are full of interest. One panel certainly represents the cultivation of tobacco. The foreground is occupied by a large painting of the herb in flower, as accurately drawn as if it were in a herbal, whilst on a bank in the distance is a whole plantation with a negro attending to the cultivation of the plants. Also, some of the figures in the panel over the fireplace are shown smoking long-stemmed pipes. The number and variety of beasts which are introduced into the compositions causes one to suspect that the painter has not been critical as to their origin, neither is he strictly accurate when he represents the rhinoceros and the crocodile as domesticated creatures. The natives are mounted on animals such as the elephant, the bull, and the rhinoceros, and an elaborately decorated vehicle, occupied by an Indian lady arrayed in drapery almost classical in style, is seen drawn by two deer in harness. Many of the panels are devoted to fishing, the fishes being apparently caught by means of a rod and line, or by spearing them with a pronged fork shaped like a trident. One small panel is interesting in this connexion, as it shows the manner of catching flying-fish with a rod to which a line and hook are attached, the fish being secured by striking them with the hook as they fly through the air. The following is a detailed description of the subjects :

Wall opposite entrance.

To the left of fireplace—large panel.—Cultivation of tobacco : A small tobacco plantation and a hut : group of natives tending the plants. In the foreground a large tobacco plant, serpent, and lizards (Plate LXV).

Small panel.—Palm-tree and a kind of horned giraffe in foreground : wooded background and curious building flanked by a large flight of steps.



A PAINTED ROOM OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



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At sides of fireplace—four long, narrow panels.—Tall trees, with figures of Indians hunting.
 Panel over fireplace.—Landscape with river and architectural background: boat, shaped like a gondola, with figures. In foreground to the right under a palm-tree, a group of Indians smoking; to the left, an Indian with umbrella, riding a kind of buffalo: a group of Indians with fish: an Indian holding a flag (Plate LXVI).

Over cupboard-door.—Two figures on a rock in a river, one light in colour fishing with rod and line, and attended by a kind of crocodile; the other a dark Indian, seated: river overhung with trees: in the distance a city on the banks of the river.

Cupboard-door—upper panel.—Tree and rocky background: Indians fighting with bows and arrows, spears and clubs.

Lower panel.—Group of Indians, one bearing a standard, in a rocky landscape.

Wall opposite windows.

Upper panels.—River scene with high rock on left, surmounted by a circular shelter roofed with palm-leaves, group of Indians beneath; on the right, wooded landscape with palm-trees. In foreground, Indians in a boat, spearing and harpooning a large, curious fish. On the bank, Indians cooking fish over a fire.

A large, richly decorated building in a woody landscape: Group of seated figures to the left: a woman with fruit and a monkey: a man holding a bird on his wrist: to the right, a richly dressed woman with two children holding the train of her dress, and a slave with a fan: signed R. Robinson, 1696 (Plates LXVII and LXVIII).

Landscape with palm-trees in the foreground and a building and fountain in the distance: an elephant with figures riding on its back: to the left, a man holding a large fish and another man striking at a fish in the water with a trident. To the right, a white woman in classical costume, with feather head-dress, seated in a car drawn by two deer, and attended by dark slaves, one holding a sunshade (Plates LXVII and LXIX).

Wooded landscape with lake and palm-trees: two Indians in a hammock slung in the trees: group of Indians with children under a shelter, woman shooting with bow and arrow: man holding a club (Plate LXX).

Lower panels.—Indian with bow, leading a beast like a crocodile: on one side trees; on the other, Indians dancing, on a stage ornamented in rococo fashion, and playing instruments—one beating a disk, another drumming, and the third with clappers: building in background.

Rough sea: stormy sky: boat rowed by Indians sheltered by a canopy; the sail like that of a Chinese junk, and prow like that of a gondola, on which is seated an Indian swinging a rod to which is attached a line and hook, with which to strike flying-fish: tree in foreground.

River scene: trees and rocks: Indians seated, fishing, some white and some dark in colour, attended by beasts something like crocodiles, but apparently domesticated.

Landscape with rocky background: on one side, group of Indians, male and female; on the other side, group of figures under a shelter roofed with palm-leaves: light Indian woman seated, with dark Indian children; dark Indian bearing a fish: boy mounted on a beast like a camel.

Wall with doorway.—Door, eight panels.

Landscape.

Landscape with running deer in foreground.

Two Indians running or dancing beneath a palm-tree: woody background.

Two Indians, man and woman fishing, woman holding fish, woody background.

Woman dressed in European costume but for feather head-dress : man under a shelter : woody background.

Indian chased by a wild beast out of a forest into the open.

Landscape with palm-tree and flying bird in foreground : woody background.

To right of door—upper panel.—Wooded landscape with palm-tree and tall rock ascended by a flight of steps : on the left a man and woman, the woman blowing a horn and seated on the back of a rhinoceros which is saddled : woman holding a standard, followed by a child : on the right, group of Indians, men armed with spears and clubs : an elephant with bell attached to it (Plate LXV).

Lower panel.—A kind of open shelter in centre, with a bell at the gable : Indians beneath engaged in domestic occupations : on one side, Indians engaged in digging and planting : on the other side, a river with group of figures.

To left of door—upper panel.—Landscape with palm-trees. Composition of figures, one seated on a kind of throne, attended by a native holding a sunshade. To the right, camels, one mounted by an Indian.

Lower panel.—Wooded landscape : city in background : Indians mounted, one on an elephant, another on a rhinoceros.

Between windows—upper panel.—Wooded landscape with palm-tree : Indians armed with clubs and spears and attended by curious animals (Plate LXX).

Lower panel.—Landscape, with a hound chasing a deer.

Panel below window.—River with Indian swimming : city in background.

Near the bottom edge of the second large panel on the wall opposite the windows is a small inscription giving the painter's name, 'R. Robinson,' and the date of the work, 1696 (Plate LXVIII). Between the date and the name are two lines of what, at first sight, appears to be a curious script, but on closer examination one can see that the inscription has been repainted. Distinct traces of the earlier one, showing the date 1696, are apparent beneath, and this suggests that these two intermediate lines are really an attempt to record the original inscription, which was becoming obscured by the repeated coats of brown varnish applied to the paintings. Apparently, the restorer found them undecipherable, and imitated as best he could what it was still possible to see.

Very little is known about the life and work of R. Robinson. Most biographers dismiss him with few words, and Laborde¹ acknowledges that he knows nothing of him beyond what he can conjecture from his attractive plates ; for Robinson was an engraver as well as painter. Nagler² also says that nothing is known of his life ; whilst Bryan³, Redgrave⁴, and Chaloner Smith⁵ say little beyond the fact that he worked in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and that he died or retired from the practice of his art about 1690. This latter statement, however, is incorrect, because, apart from the signed and dated paintings under discussion, there exists an engraving entitled 'The Bombarding of Diep by their Majesties' Bombships', which took place in 1694, the engraving

¹ *Gravure en manière noire*, Paris, 1839.

³ *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*.

⁵ *British Mezzotint Portraits*.

² *Künstler-Lexicon*, G. K. Nagler.

⁴ *Ibid.*



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dating from the same year, being designed by Col. J. Richards and executed by R. Robinson.

Robinson was a contemporary of John Smith, the most eminent engraver in mezzotint of his time (1654-1720), and a still-life group, entitled 'Vanitas', which he designed, was executed by Smith. Also he designed a group of fruit and fish, which was executed by Isaac Beckett, the engraver from whom J. Smith received instruction in his art, and whose plates can be ascribed to dates between the years 1681 and 1688. His engravings consist to a large extent of portraits, classical landscapes, and still-life groups of various objects of natural history. They are not only of considerable merit, but engraved after his own designs. Some light is thrown on his personality by a note in an unpublished manuscript for a history of engravers, written by T. Dodd in the early years of the last century and now preserved in the British Museum. He is referred to as 'a painter of portraits, landscapes, and subjects of natural history, who was also practised in the art of engraving in mezzotint'. From this it would appear that he was in the first place a painter rather than an engraver, and, although nothing is known about his paintings, this appears to be borne out by the facts we have before us. The number of engravings which are known to have been executed by him is small, and the skill with which these panels are painted clearly shows him to be a master of painting in oil and in the rendering of most varied subjects in landscape and figure work. In the Painters and Stainers' hall in Little Trinity Lane there is a room, the panels of which were decorated with paintings by various members of the Company in the seventeenth century. One of these paintings, a still-life group of fish against a landscape background, has been attributed to Robinson. It probably belongs to the earlier period of his work, and approaches in style very nearly to his engravings of similar subjects. If this painting is really by Robinson, as it appears to be, then there can be but little doubt that he was a member of that company.

The disclosure of the interesting scheme of painted decoration at Sir John Cass's Schools emphasizes the fact that in R. Robinson we have an English decorative painter of no mean ability. It is to be hoped that it will enable other works to be ascribed to him, of which there must still be a considerable number in the country, and increase our information concerning the painter himself, which is at present but too scanty.



JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE (1675)

BY EDMUND ASHFIELD

Earl of Dysart, Ham House

NOTES ON EDMUND ASHFIELD

BY C. H. COLLINS BAKER.

I SET out to contribute a paper on Edmund Ashfield, the Stuart period pastellist, in hopes of being able to ascertain something about his early and late work. Unfortunately, however, I have succeeded only in becoming further acquainted with his style at one period, *c.* 1674. In publishing the results of my limited studies, however, this much may be achieved: our illustrations may lead to the identification of other pastels and possibly some oil paintings by this accomplished if unequal artist.

Our information as to Ashfield is strictly limited. Vertue in his customary way notes a crayon head by him (B.M. Add. MSS., 23069, fol. 31), 'A crayon head of S^r John Bennett, Lord Ossulston, 1673: Edmund Ashfield, very neat & curious but not in a v. grand manner'. Our patron saint, Horace Walpole, adds a little to this, telling us that Ashfield was a pupil of Wright, was well descended; painted in oil and crayons, 'in which he made great improvements for multiplying the tints. He instructed Lutterel, who added the invention of using crayons on copper-plates.' Walpole refers to Vertue's note about the head of Sir J. Bennett, omitting, however, that it was in crayons. He adds, 'but at Burleigh is a small portrait of a Lady Herbert by him, highly finished and well painted'. The only other reference, of that period, to Ashfield that I know occurs in a Treatise on Limning attributed to Norgate (B.M. Harl. MSS., 6000), 'On Crayons', 'M^r Ashfield at red ball in Lincoln Inn field in Holben row, the first house: master of this art'.

Waagen visited Burleigh and described two portraits there, a 'Lady Pembroke' and 'Lady Warwick', copies after Van Dyck, by Ashfield. Subsequent writers, for example in the Leipzig *Künstlerlexikon* (i. 19) and Dr. Williamson in his *History of Portrait Miniatures*, refer to the pastel portrait of the Duke of Lauderdale at Ham House and a miniature in the Belvoir Collection, ascribed to Ashfield, assigned to 1683 and representing Lord William Russell.

Portraits, then, attributed to this artist by repute are:

- (1) Sir John Bennett, Lord Ossulston (crayon), presumably signed and dated 1673.
- (2) A 'Lady Warwick' and 'Lady Pembroke' at Burleigh.
- (3) Duke of Lauderdale at Ham House (crayons), signed and dated 1674-5 (12 x 9½).
- (4) Lord William Russell at Belvoir Castle (miniature), attributed by Dr. Williamson and assigned to 1683.

Before adding fresh material to this list I should say that, in my opinion, No. 4, the miniature at Belvoir, cannot be accepted as an indisputable Ashfield, unless some inscription on the back (which I could not examine) or some document places its authenticity beyond question.

Other portraits by Ashfield are :

Portrait of a Gentleman in Armour, British Museum (crayons), $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$.
 Frances, Viscountess Down, Belvoir Castle (crayons), signed and dated 1675 ($11\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$).
 Sir James Oxenden, Bart. } in the Collection of Mr. Basil Oxenden (crayons), $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$.
 Lady Oxenden

The only pastel example I have seen which seems to justify Vertue's description of Ashfield's style as 'neat and curious' is the Ham House 'Duke of Lauderdale'. This is certainly neater, or perhaps, as we should say, 'tighter' in texture than the others. The date of the head, Vertue notes, is 1673, but a year or so earlier than the Lauderdale; hence we fairly assume that it was much in the same manner, with possibly a slightly neater finish. Pastels are notoriously fugitive, and comparatively few of those done in the Stuart period have survived. It is reasonable to suspect that the Ham House example of Ashfield's work more faithfully suggests the state of his newly finished portraits than do the Oxenden pair and the British Museum 'Man in Armour'. For the first has probably experienced more stable conditions and suffered less displacement of its surface than have the other specimens, which now present much the same appearance.

Before describing Ashfield's characteristic colour and technique I should perhaps say something about his master, Michael Wright. Born apparently in Scotland, about 1623, Wright is alleged to have studied under George Jamesone, to have passed through London on his way to Italy in 1641, and to have worked in Florence and Rome, becoming a member of the St. Luke's Academy at Florence. He was in Rome in 1651, and came to England about 1652-53 in time to buy at the sale of Charles I's collection. He had a good practice in London, especially with the legal profession; in 1661-62 and 1670-75 he painted two series of Judges' Portraits. He also painted Charles II, and signed himself 'pictor regius'. He returned to Italy in 1687, in the train of Lord Castlemaine; back in London about 1690, he lived ten more years, dying in 1700. As far as seems known he painted only in oils; but we may learn some day that he worked in crayons too. His style in oils is quite distinct from Lely's; it will suffice for our purpose to say that of the Ashfields reproduced the British Museum 'Man in Armour' most suggests Wright's influence. A certain breadth or atmospheric quality plainly to be seen in this head reminds one strongly of the conspicuous quality of Wright's 'Thomas Chiffinch' in the National Portrait Gallery. As regards colour,



FRANCES, VISCOUNTESS DOWN (1675)

BY EDMUND ASHFIELD

Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle



SIR JAMES OXENDEN (1674)

BY EDMUND ASHFIELD

In the collection of Basil Oxenden, Esq.

however, Ashfield's pastels are in a redder key; his portraits of women, moreover, suggest Lely's rather than Wright's influence.

The general effect of Ashfield's flesh tone is warm, almost pinkish indeed in the Ham House portrait. The lights are whiteish, and the tones vary from a deep Indian red to a curious dull violet-red. Noticeable in his technique is his fine use of line. As a rule the features are outlined with red chalk and little accents are added here and there with black. Remarkable, too, is the delicacy of his handling in the hair. The British Museum 'Man in Armour', the 'Sir James Oxenden', and the 'Duke of Lauderdale' well illustrate Ashfield's deft and delicate calligraphy in drawing ringlets.

Ashfield, if we may judge by the few examples here illustrated, conformed with the rule that portrait painters are at their best in men portraits. In his 'Lady Oxenden' and the Belvoir 'Viscountess Down' Ashfield is hardly superior to Mary Beale; indeed, the latter portrait distinctly recalls the rather dull Lelyesque characterization of Mrs. Beale. This portrait is inscribed on the back 'Right Honble. Frances viscountis of Down, Daughter of Francis Lord Seymoure ye Firste Baron of Trowbridge and wife to ye Right Honble. William lord Viscount of Down of Tortworth in Gloutershire'. I was unable to ascertain why this lady's likeness was in the Belvoir Collection. Her hair is grey-black with pale grey lights, her bodice is a very sharp cobalt blue, over a white chemise. The background is warm brown, dark on the right and lighter on the left. In the same way the Ham House Lauderdale's background is pale brown to the left and darker on the right. The Duke's black cloak, moreover, has the same cobalt blue lining. His hair is the same tone and almost the same pale brown as the background; his cravat is yellow-grey.

The signature to the Viscountess Down is

EA^F
1675

That on the Lauderdale

EA : F
167⁺₅

The signatures on Mr. Basil Oxenden's pair of pastels have the E and A joined in the manner of the latter: their dates are, Lady Oxenden 1673, Sir James 1674; the characters and figures are made in red pigment. Sir James Oxenden, who was painted in oils, life-size three-quarters length, by Greenhill (the portrait is signed), clearly interested Ashfield and inspired him to a piece of fine characterization. In this respect this pastel ranks with the most dignified and thoughtful portraits of its period. It reflects something of Michael Wright's gravity and good breeding. The wig is a pale grey-yellow; the mantle a kind of golden fawn with, again, the usual touch of vivid cobalt blue in the tabs on the sleeve. In the portrait of Lady Oxenden, which is less

well preserved, Ashfield's individuality is not so distinctly felt; the Lelyesque element, that Wright, as far as I know, escapes, is very marked. Her shawl is pale golden fawn, her bodice cobalt blue with streaks of viridian green, an altogether unusual play of colour. Her hair, which is rather rubbed, is a pale blond brown.

Ashfield's masterpiece, as we at present know him, is the British Museum 'Man in Armour', which was included in the Exhibition of Drawings and Sketches held in the Museum Gallery, 1912 (No. 257). Neither signed nor dated, and with its sitter's identity uncertain, this pastel gives us no sure information as to Ashfield's career. Though it is somewhat freer in handling and vision than either the Ham House 'Lauderdale' or the 'Sir James Oxenden', it seems to belong to about the same period, *c.* 1675. As for the sitter's identity, one can only note a kind of family likeness to John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, whom we know in Lely's paintings and fine drawing at the British Museum, in Riley's thoughtful portrait, and Ashfield's pastel at Ham House. With the exception, then, of the attribution to Edmund Ashfield of a miniature of Lord William Russell (at Belvoir) to which the date 1683 is assigned, we seem to know nothing of this artist before or after 1673-75. The dates of his activity are usually given as 1675-1700. The only other pastel certainly by him of which I have heard is one of Jane Middleton, signed 'E.A. 1673' (11 x 9), which was in Mr. Sabin's possession in 1911, but now is untraced. This is probably the drawing sold at the Sir H. Hope Edwardes Sale (Wootton Hall, Ashbourne, Derbyshire), April 27, 1901. It fetched thirteen guineas, and was bought by Mr. C. Butler. There are some grounds for thinking that a pastel portrait of a man, by Ashfield, is at Moore Abbey, Lord Drogheda's place in Ireland. As for his oil portraits at Burleigh House, representing Lady Penelope Herbert and the Countess of Warwick (wife of Robert Earl of Warwick, daughter of Sir William Hutton), they appear to be copies of Van Dycks. I do not, however, know where the originals are. The 'Lady Penelope Herbert' is a little panel piece, as smooth and clear and finished as a china painting. The lady stands three-quarters length, three-quarters to the left with both hands in front of her. The drapery colours are cool Prussian blue and dead leaf. The 'Lady Warwick' is life-size, seated, three-quarters length, almost full face. Her dress is blue, her left hand lies in her lap, the finger-tips of the right touch her fur stole. Portraits of this class, usually attributed to Van Dyck or his school, are numerous; indeed, one by the same hand hangs with this Lady Warwick at Burleigh, a 'Lady Anne Cecil, daughter of William, second Earl of Salisbury'. They are clear in tone, highly finished, well modelled, and distinguished from ordinary Van Dyck school pieces by the high key and thorough 'finish' of good china paintings. But they are wholly different from the Ashfield we know through his pastels.

In no collection that I have visited have I remarked an original oil portrait



LADY OXENDEN (1673)

BY EDMUND ASHFIELD

In the collection of Basil Oxenden, Esq.



UNKNOWN MAN
BY EDMUND ASHFIELD
British Museum

attributable to him on the evidence of his pastels. We may, however, come to recognize his hand; speculatively, I may interject that in time sundry puzzling works, for instance the fine 'George Savile, Marquess of Halifax' at Hardwick, and the big full-length there of 'James Butler, Duke of Ormond', that inconclusively remind one of Michael Wright, may be attributed to Ashfield. That there are numerous examples of his pastels about the country seems improbable, but we may expect gradually to make additions to the short list here given, which at present covers, I think, all his known work.

To Margam a boat of Mr. Talbot 3 Miles
 An Abbey & Chapter House. The Church & Monuments - An Old Saxon bridge
 in the village. ~~part of the Chapter House fallen~~
 To Aberavon 3 Miles. since 1795

View the Copper Works - - - - -
 1 mile from To Noath by Brown Ferry 6 Miles near Castle X
 very fine view along the shores. - See the cascade at Melincourt 7 miles
 up the Noath River return by the Turpiko Road which leads from Noath
 to Brocksack. - - - - -

To Aberdylis 2 1/2 Miles from Noath
 Rocks & water fall well worth attention - Noath Abbey. one mile
 on the road To Swansea 9 Miles Markworth Arms
 Nothing is mentioned but the ruins of an Old Castle. - - - - -

Llanorris Town 2 Miles above Swansea
 The Turpiko R. crosses the River Tawy over a very fine Bridge.
 To Port Abardulot 10 Miles

Here ends the County of Glamorgan. No Particular curiosity is mentioned
 To Hidwelly 14 Miles.

Ruin of a castle worth notice - and the Church
 Hidwelly is 14 miles from Llanorris Ferry 5 miles from the Castle
 Llanorris is 9 miles from Llanorris Ferry 9 miles } No mention is made of the Antiquities
 Llanstephan is 9 miles from Llanorris Ferry 9 miles } of either of these Places. here
 5 miles along Llanby 20 Miles walls - X While lying on the
 the shore - before you visit Llanby view the castles at Llanstephan (Llangham) (Llan)
 as it is called Llanstephan castle stands at the entrance of the River Tawy.
 at Llanby view the bluffs, caverns, Rocks, Islands &c &c. - - - - -

To Pembroke 10 Miles. Manorbier Castle
 Carew Castle, the Woods of Lawrenny form some of the views exhibited on
 the Road - at Llanstephan Village there is the Ruins of a Bishop's Palace
 Pembroke Castle & Round House. Carew 2 miles from Pembroke

SOME LEAVES FROM TURNER'S 'SOUTH WALES' SKETCH-BOOK

BY ALEXANDER J. FINBERG.

THE reproductions of Turner's 'Isle of Wight' Sketch-book, published in the first annual volume of the Walpole Society, aroused so much interest and gave so much pleasure to our subscribers that the Committee have been repeatedly asked to publish more of these beautiful drawings. The present instalment of reproductions from pages of another of Turner's early sketch-books is published in response to these requests.

In publishing the Isle of Wight drawings it was the desire of the Committee to give reproductions of as many subjects as possible, and as the resources of the Society were severely limited it was found necessary to reduce many of the drawings to half-page and in some cases to quarter-page sizes. But these delicate and faint pencil-drawings were found to suffer so much from such reductions that the Committee have decided on the present occasion to publish only reproductions of almost the full size of the originals. This decision involves some reduction in the number of drawings reproduced, but the gain in quality will, it is hoped, more than compensate for the loss in quantity. It is better to give comparatively few good reproductions of drawings of so much artistic and topographical interest, than a larger number of indifferent reproductions.

In the introductory remarks to the reproductions published in our first volume it was stated that perhaps, 'in the fulness of time', the wonderful collection of Turner's sketch-books in the National Gallery 'will be made freely accessible to the art-loving public. At present, though safely stored, they have to be jealously kept from the gaze of those who would like to study and enjoy them'. During the two years which have elapsed since these lines were written, nothing has been done to make these treasures accessible; and nothing seems likely to be done until the public or the authorities are aroused to take some interest in the matter.

The outside of the 'South Wales' Sketch-book is similar in size and appearance to the 'Isle of Wight' Sketch-book. It is handsomely bound in calf, and it possesses four large brass clasps, two at the top and bottom, and two on the right-hand side of the covers. The size of the pages is $10\frac{3}{8} \times 8$ inches; at least this is the measurement on the extreme right of the pages, on the left it is rather more in height, but it never quite reaches $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The book still

retains the paper label which Turner stuck on its back when he added it to his library of reference. This label, which has now almost curled itself off, bears Turner's endorsement: 'South Wales—Mon' (Monmouthshire).

The book was used in 1795, the same year as the Isle of Wight drawings. That book contains drawings of Winchester, Southampton, and Salisbury, as well as of places in the Isle of Wight. Whether Turner returned to London after his Isle of Wight tour, or whether he made his way through Salisbury to Wells, Bath, and South Wales, there is no evidence to show. We do not even know whether Turner went to the Isle of Wight first and then to South Wales, or whether he went first to Wales and afterwards to the Isle of Wight. When I was compiling my *Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest*, I rather favoured the notion that Turner went to the Isle of Wight first. My later impression is that he probably went to Wales first. The statements in the itinerary (of which I am about to speak)—'Wells, 120 miles from London,' and from Bath 'to Salisbury 38 miles'—suggest that he went from London to Wells, and returning from Wales to Bristol, went to Bath and thence to Salisbury and the Isle of Wight. But the exact order of the tour is not of much importance.

The inside of the cover and the two fly-leaves of this book are filled with a list of places Turner proposed to visit, and details of the points of interest he was to sketch. This itinerary was not drawn up by Turner himself. The writing is quite unlike his. It is remarkable for the peculiar formation of the letter 'c', which nearly resembles an 'o'. Beside this itinerary Turner has, in places, scribbled some remarks in pencil. The accompanying plate (Plate LXXVI) gives an excellent representation of one of the pages. It is hoped that its publication may lead to the identification of the mentor and friend who assisted Turner in mapping out his sketching-tour. It may have been Dr. Monro, or John Kirby, or the librarian of the Royal Academy.

In the following transcript Turner's pencilled remarks are printed in italics. He has also placed a cross (in pencil) against those places which have good inns.

Inside of cover:—

"WELLS. 120 miles from London. x

The Cathedral, the painted windows in do.—particularly the East—Chapter House, and Cloister very fine. A good library. The Bishop's Palace. Market Cross.

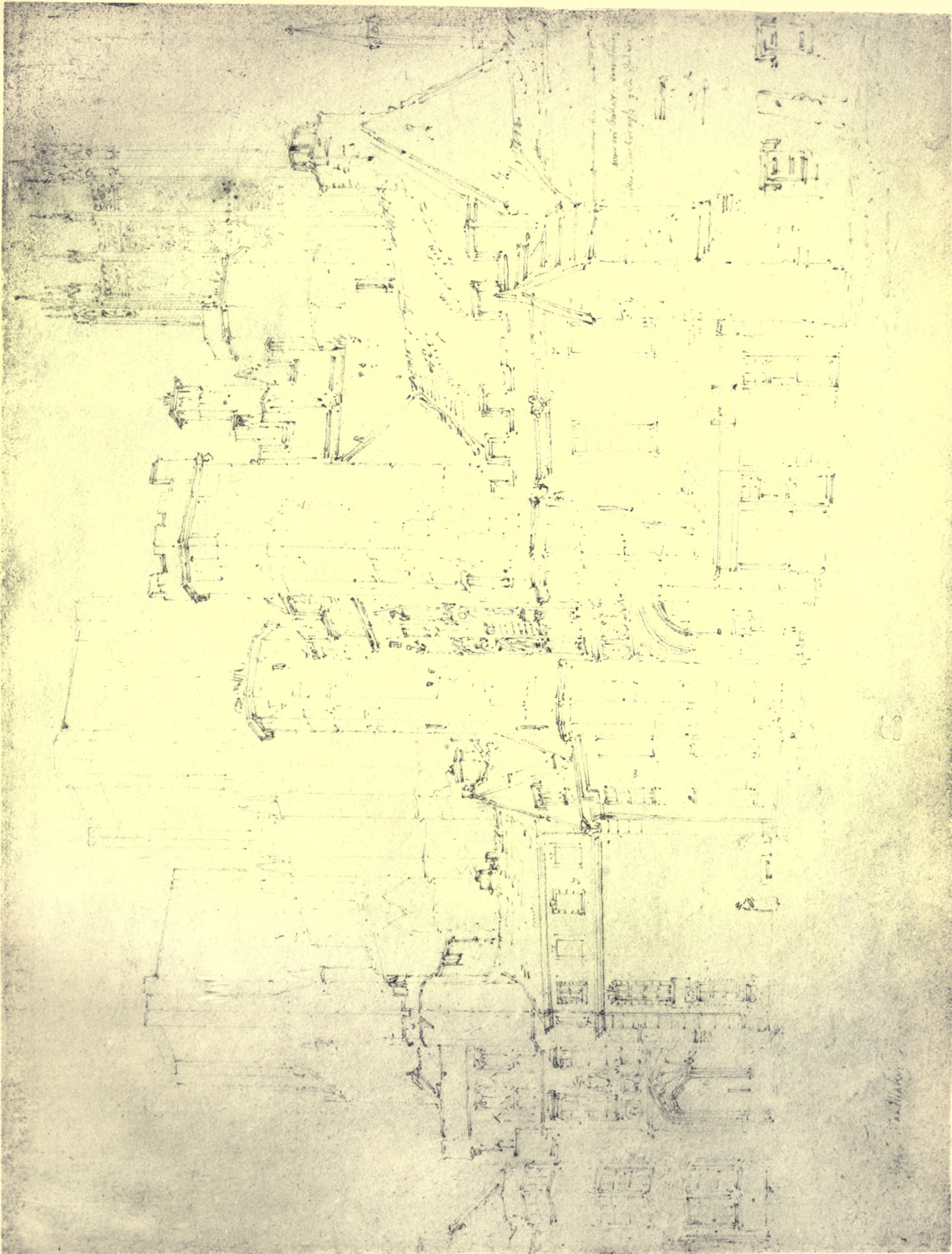
WOKEY HOLE. 2 miles.

Wokey Hole, a cavern on the Mendip Hills.

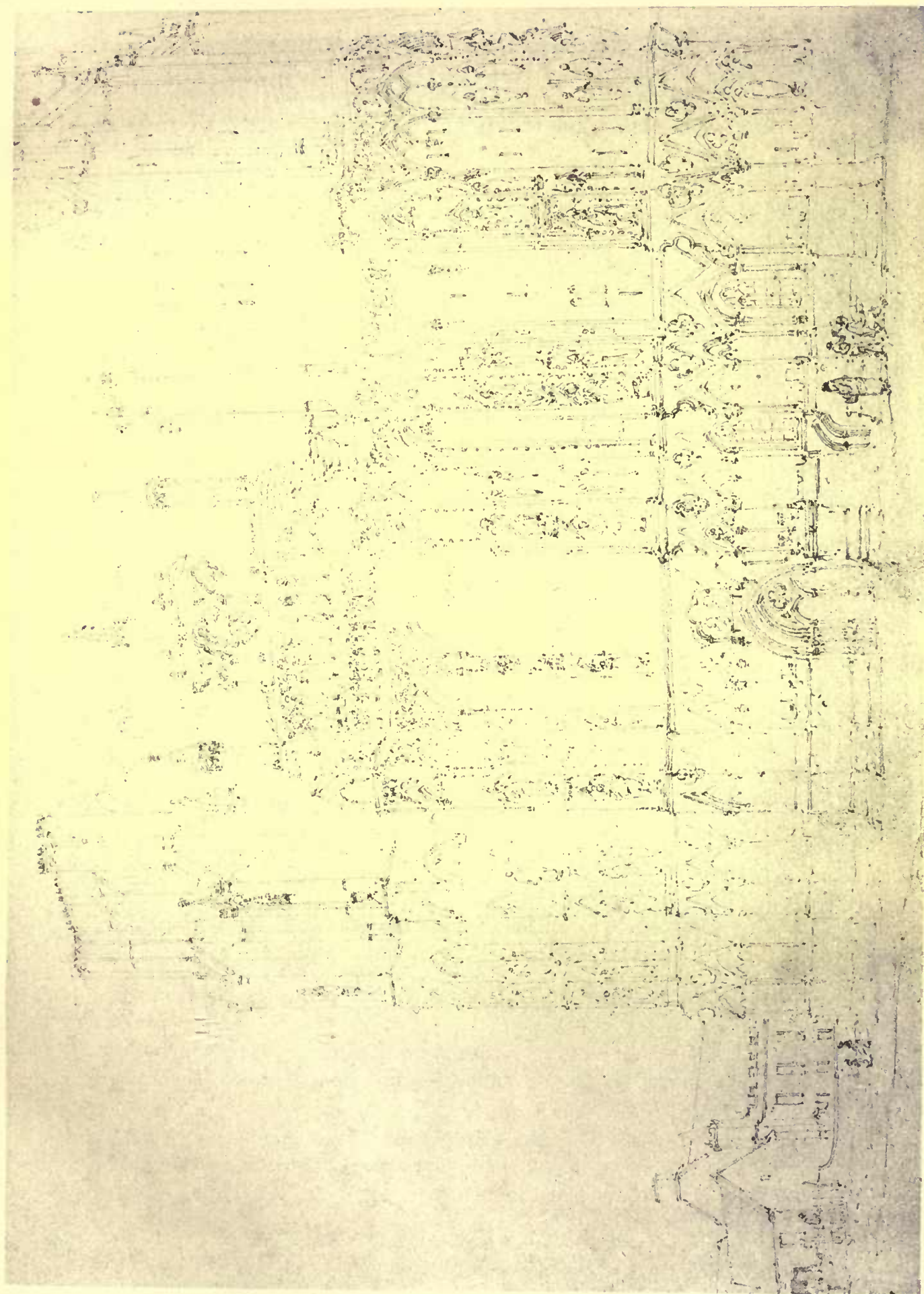
CHEDDAR, 10 miles.

On the Mendip Hills—view the deep valley or cleft that runs into the hill. These rocks are very beautiful.

TO CROSS, 3 MILES (nothing particular).



WELLS CLOSE.



WELLS CATHEDRAL : WEST FRONT.

Page 2 of 'South Wales' Sketch Book.

TO BRISTOL WELLS, 20 MILES (AND CITY). × *Bush Inn*.

St. Mary Redcliffe—view Hogarth’s Pictures in do. at the Altar Piece.

TO THE AUST PASSAGE, 12 miles to the Passage House at BEACHLEY.

TO NEWPORT, 19 MILES.

Pass through Chepstow and CARWENT. View the walls and the tessellated pavements, Newport Castle.

CARDIFF, 12 miles. *Cardiff Arms*. ×.

View the Castle and Church.

TO LANDAFF, 2 miles. *No inn*.

The ruin of an old Cathedral.

TO COWBRIDGE, 11 MILES. *Only the gate remaining*. ×.

2 miles before Cowbridge, distant 1 mile towards St. Donats,
view of Penlyn Castle. *Llanblythan Castle Gate*.

TO St. Donats, 8 miles.

The old castle near the sea-shore. There are some remarkable caverns about 2 miles off worn into the cliff.

TO EWENNY OR WONNY (as it is commonly called), 6 miles. *No inn*.

An ancient fortified priory. The Church. *Saxon*.

TO PILE, a small village, 6 miles.

Nothing mentioned.”

(End of page.)

The first fly-leaf:—

“TO MARGAM, a seat of Mr. Talbot, 3 miles.

An Abbey and Chapter House. The Church and Monuments—An old Saxon Cross in the Village. *Part of the Chapter House fallen since 1795.*

TO ABERAVON, 3 miles.

View the Copper works.

~~1 mile from~~
~~Neath Abbey~~

TO NEATH by Breton Ferry, 6 miles. *Neath Castle. Inn* ×.

Very fine views along the shores. See the Cascade at Melincourt, 7 miles up the Neath River, return by the Turnpike Road which leads from Neath to Brecknock.

TO ABERDYLLIS, 2½ Miles from Neath.

Rocks and Waterfall well worth attention—Neath Abbey. *One Mile.*
On the road.

TO SWANSEA, 9 miles. *Mackworth Arms*.

Nothing is mentioned but the ruins of an old castle.

SOME LEAVES FROM TURNER'S

To MORRIS TOWN, 2 miles above Swansea.

The Turnpike Rd. crosses the River Towy over a very fine Bridge.

To PONT ABERDULOS, 10 miles.

Here ends the County of Glamorgan. No particular CURIOSITY is mentioned.

To KIDWELLY, 14 miles.

Ruin of a Castle worth notice. *and the Church.*

Kidwelly to Larn Ferry 4 miles.

<i>Larn to</i>	To Carmarthen 9 miles	} <i>Remains of the Castle</i> No mention is made of the Antiquities of either of these Places HERE.
<i>Llanstephan</i>		
<i>5 miles along the shore.</i>	To ST. CLEAR—9 miles.	

To TENBY, 20 miles. *Walls. × White Lyon Inn.*

Before you visit Tenby view the CASTLES at Lanstephan and Laugharn (LARN, as it is called). Lanstephan Castle stands at the entrance of the River Towy. At Tenby view the Cliffs, Caverns, Rocks, Islands, &c. &c.

Manobeir Castle

To PEMBROKE, 10 miles.

2 miles from Tenby.

Carew Castle, the woods of Laurennny form some of the Views exhibited on the Road. At Lamphey Village there is the Ruins of a Bishop's Palace. Pembroke Castle and Round Tower. *Carew 2 miles from Pembroke."*

(End of first fly-leaf.)

Reverse of first fly-leaf:—

"To HAVERFORDWEST, 16 miles (by water). ×

The old castle hardly worth notice. *Converted into a gaol.*

PICTON CASTLE and back, 10 miles.

The old castle scarcely worth visiting. *A seat of Lord Minto.*

To ST. DAVID'S and back, 36 miles. *No inn.*

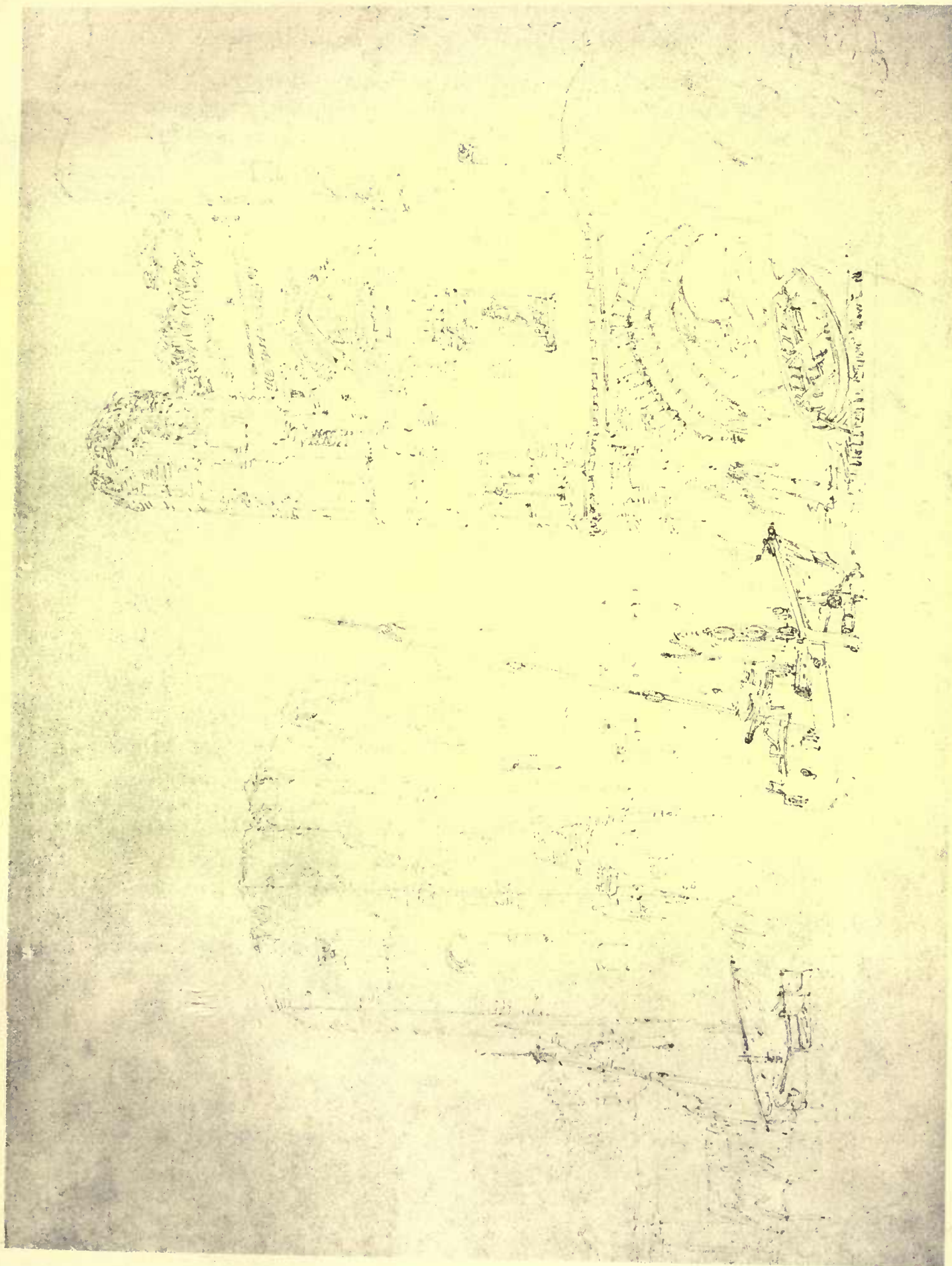
On the right you pass the (. . . ?), a considerable TOWER, the remains of Roche Castle. At St. Bride's Bay a fine SEA VIEW. St. David's Church. The ruins of the Bishop's Palace.

To NARBERTH, 10 miles.

On the left, about 2 miles distant, stands Langhaddon Castle, a considerable ruin.

To ST. CLEAR. 13 miles.

On coming out of Narberth you have a view of the remains of a castle. All this road is very picturesque.



RUINED CASTLE AT NEWPORT.

To CARMARTHEN, 9 miles. *Ivy Bush Inn.*

Nothing worth visiting. *Caerkinnan Castle, 5 miles from Landilo.*

To LANDILO, through Lord Dynevor’s grounds, 18 miles.

The River Towy (which passes by Carmarthen and empties itself into the sea at Lanstephan) in the middle of the valley, and on a hill stands Druslwyn Castle. A little farther is Grongar Hill, Newton (Lady Dinevor’s seat), very beautiful.

To LANDOVERY, 12 miles.

A good bridge and an old castle.

To BRECKNOCK, 20 miles. *3 bridges and a castle.*
× *Golden Lion Inn.*

Fine mountainous view along this road. Ascend the highest mountain, called the Van of the Beacon. The Priory Church at Brecknock.

× To ABERGAVENNY (by Langhors Pool), 22 miles.

View this pool. On the road you will pass the Castles of RULCH, Crickhowel, and Tretover. *A castle and bridge.*

To Monmouth, 16 miles. *Munow Bridge.*

To Ross, 12 miles by land. *Goodrich Castle.*

Fine views on the River Wye.”

(End of reverse of first fly-leaf.)

The second fly-leaf:—

“To MONMOUTH by water, 22 miles.

Very fine picturesque country.

× To CHEPSTOW by water, 24 miles.

Tintern Abbey, the rock and woods of Piercefield, Chepstow Castle.

To Nuncham Passage House, 16 miles.

Fine views of the River Severn—very curious to see the bore of head of the tide come in, when the wind is favourable.

To NEWPORT, 14 miles.

To Berkley Castle, 2 miles. *Inhabited by Lord Berkley.*

To Thornbury, 8 miles.

Curious Gothic architecture in this town.

To Bristol, 10 miles.

To Bath, 13 miles.

To Salisbury, 38 miles.

× *Places mark’d thus have good inns.*

Monmouth.

Views up the Wye from Wye Bridge to New Weir and Which Church. The

Castle Walls and Castle Bridge. Monnow and Wye Bridges. The Iron Works. King's Arms Inn x."

(End of second fly-leaf.)

Reverse of second fly-leaf.

The following is in ink and in Turner's handwriting; the x against some of the titles is in pencil:—

"ORDER'D DRAWINGS.

x Landaff Cathedral.	}	Dr. Mathews, Hereford.
Fisherman's Cottage.		Size of the Sketch. 4 t 2. ¹
x Cascade ('Hampton' added and smudged out.)	}	Lord Viscount Malden, Hampton Court.
x Oak.		
x Chaple. 13. 17		
x N. Front.		
x S. Front.		
x Walls of Tenby—Size of the Sketch.		Mr. Landseer.
Brecknock Castle.	}	Mr. Lambert—Size of the Sketches."
Ross.		
Ross Market House.		
Walls of Tenby.		
St. David's Pallace.		

(The following is all in pencil.)

"Llandowrow Mill—Mr. Laurie.
 x Aberdillias Mill—Mr. Mitchells. Size of Landilio Bridge.
 Newport Castle.—Mr. Kershaw.
 N. Front of Hampton Court. } Sir Richard Hoare."
 S. F. " "

The pencilled crosses against the titles of some of the drawings were probably put when the commissions were carried out. The drawing of Llandaff Cathedral was finished, but that of the 'Fisherman's Cottage' was only partly done. The drawings of Hampton Court, Herefordshire, for Lord Malden, afterwards the Earl of Essex, were all carried out. I have no record of the drawings for Mr. Lambert.

The present condition of the book is a sad one. Nearly all the best drawings have been cut out of it. The process was begun in 1868, when Mr. Wornum ripped two sheets out. Then Mr. Ruskin borrowed the book

¹ The '4 t 2' is written over '2 G.', which was written first and then smudged with the finger. The numbers seem to refer to the price of the drawings, and mean four guineas (or pounds) for the two.



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.

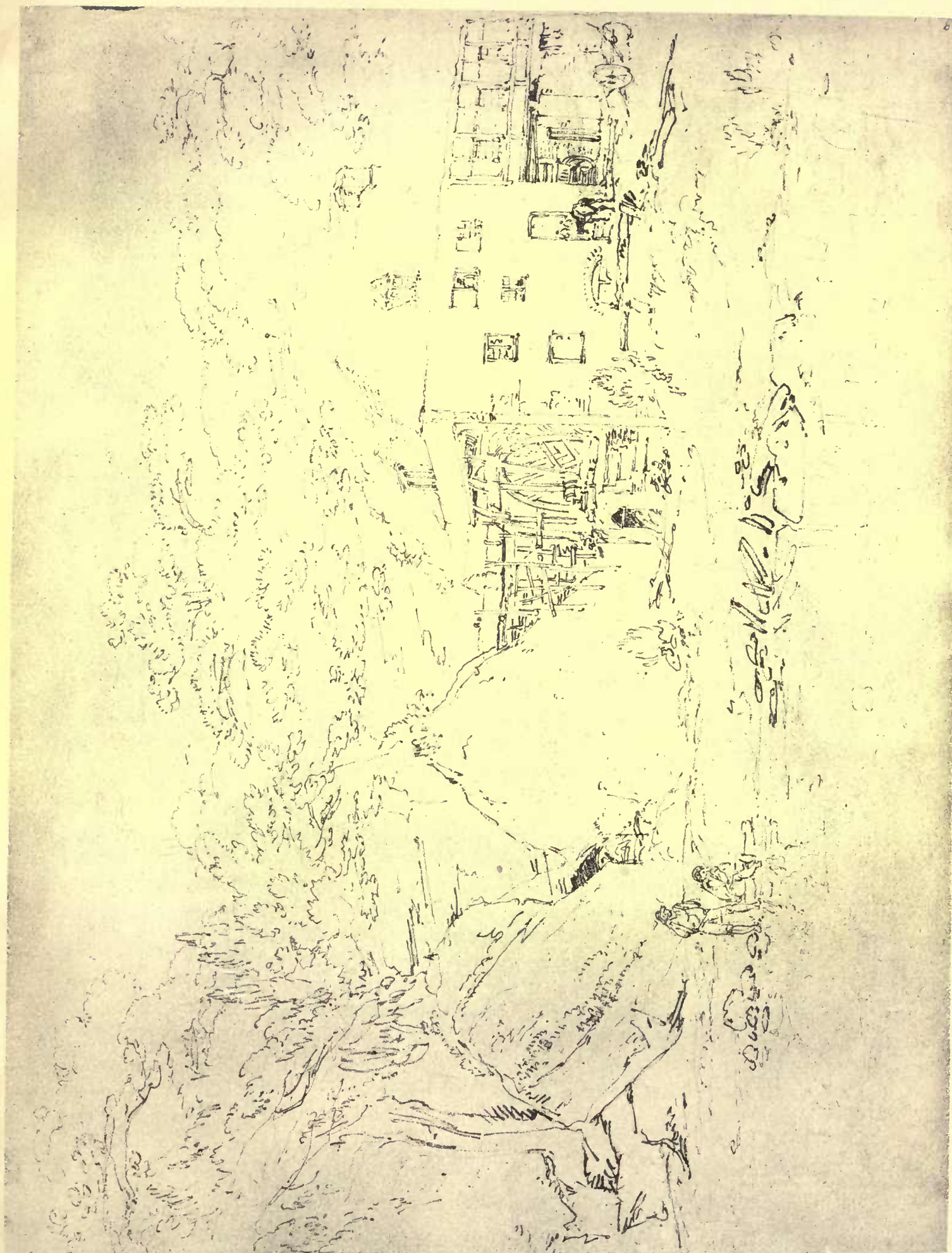
Page 4 of 'South Wales' Sketch Book.



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.

Water-colour exhibited R.A. 1796.

Now in the National Gallery (XXVIII, A. Exhibited Drawings, No. 795).



ABERDULAIS MILL.

for his Drawing School at Oxford, and cut out twenty-five of the pages, without making any record of their positions or relative order, and used the drawings for his pupils to copy. The smudges made by the clumsy fingers of these copyists do not add to the value or attractiveness of Turner’s drawings. Since Mr. Ruskin’s time, the work of depletion has been continued, and at present the leaves of this book are scattered all over the country amongst the various loan collections made to provincial galleries. Of the ten drawings now reproduced, two were on exhibition at the National Gallery, some were in Wales, some at the Tate Gallery, and some in the provinces. Turner’s idea about his sketches and studies was to keep them all together. The only idea of the authorities who now have charge of them seems to be to scatter them as far apart as possible.

Fortunately, Turner had numbered, in pencil, the first thirty-nine pages, so we are sure at least of their relative positions.

The following record of the opening pages of the book may be useful. It is hoped that a further instalment of reproductions may be given in our next annual volume :

- Page 1. Wells Close. Written on right: ‘Warm Ocker. Something like Peterborough yet Reder’; and at the bottom, on the left: ‘Gold. Hatmaker’ (?). (Plate LXXVII.)
2. Wells Cathedral; West Front. Young man seated drawing in foreground, with other figures. Exhibited Drawings, 449, National Gallery. (Plate LXXVIII.)
3. Ruined Castle at Newport. Exhibited Drawings, 448, National Gallery, as ‘Caernarvon Castle’. (Plate LXXIX.)
4. Llandaff Cathedral. Written on top right-hand corner: ‘Purple and Green. Brown and R. Ocker’; on reverse: ‘Dr. Matthews, 2’. (Plate LXXX.)

This drawing formed the basis for the water-colour reproduced on Plate LXXXI. It was probably commissioned by Dr. Matthews, of Hereford, but was not delivered, as it was in the artist’s possession at the time of his death. The two guineas, which was all the doctor was prepared to pay, was hardly a tempting price for this elaborately finished drawing. Turner seems to have sent the drawing to the Royal Academy in 1796.

5. Gateway, &c., of ruined castle, with cow standing under the arch in centre. Probably Llandaff Castle. (Not reproduced.)
6. Aberdulais Mill. (Plate LXXXII.) Turner seems to have made a water-colour of this subject for a Mr. Mitchells, but I have not been able to trace it.

Page 7. A waterfall. (Not reproduced.) Probably another view of the following subject.

8. Melincourt Fall, Vale of Neath (near Abergarnedd, on the River Clydach). Pencil, with the central part finished in water-colour. (This was one of the Oxford Loan Collection. In Mr. Ruskin's catalogue it is described as 'High Force of Tees. Mystery drawn at once'.) The contrast between the precise and slightly 'precious' pencil-work and the force and mastery of the water-colour part is astonishing. The reproduction does not do justice to this part of the drawing. The effect of the spray is beautifully suggested by dragging the brush. (Plate LXXXIII.)
9. A waterfall. Pencil and water-colour. (Not reproduced.)
10. Two wheels of a Water-mill. Beginning only. (Not reproduced.)
11. A Water-mill. (Not reproduced.)
12. Rocks and Torrent. Pencil, with part worked in water-colour. (Not reproduced.)
13. River with wooded hills on either side. Two vessels on the river. Written in corner: 'Warm Purple yet Greenish.
Shadows water l.
Stronger —
Warm Shadow of Grey
Sand.'

(Not reproduced.)

14. 'Breton Ferry'; kiln beside river, with figures and horses and carts; boats in foreground, sailing-vessels beyond. (Not reproduced.)
15. Boat-hook and oars standing against bank with overhanging trees. Boat and nets in foreground, a fisherman's cottage beyond. Written on reverse: 'Dr. Matthews 2'. (Not reproduced.)

An unfinished water-colour of this subject (XXVIII, S.) was reproduced in *Hidden Treasures at the National Gallery*, p. 42, as 'View on the Dart'. This is doubtless the 'Fisherman's Cottage' commissioned by Dr. Matthews (or Mathews).

16. 'Kidwelly Castle.' Cart with horses on sands below gateway, cows in the stream in centre. Written in corner: 'Bright Orange stains. Bright S. G.' (probably Sap Green) 'and Ocker R.' (Plate LXXXIV.)

An early drawing of this subject was sold at Christie's in 1859, but I have not seen it. Turner took up the subject again about forty years afterwards, when he used it as the basis of a water-colour for the 'England and Wales' series, which was published in 1837. In the drawing he retained the cows in the centre, but brought the horses and carts and figures over on to the near bank. He also



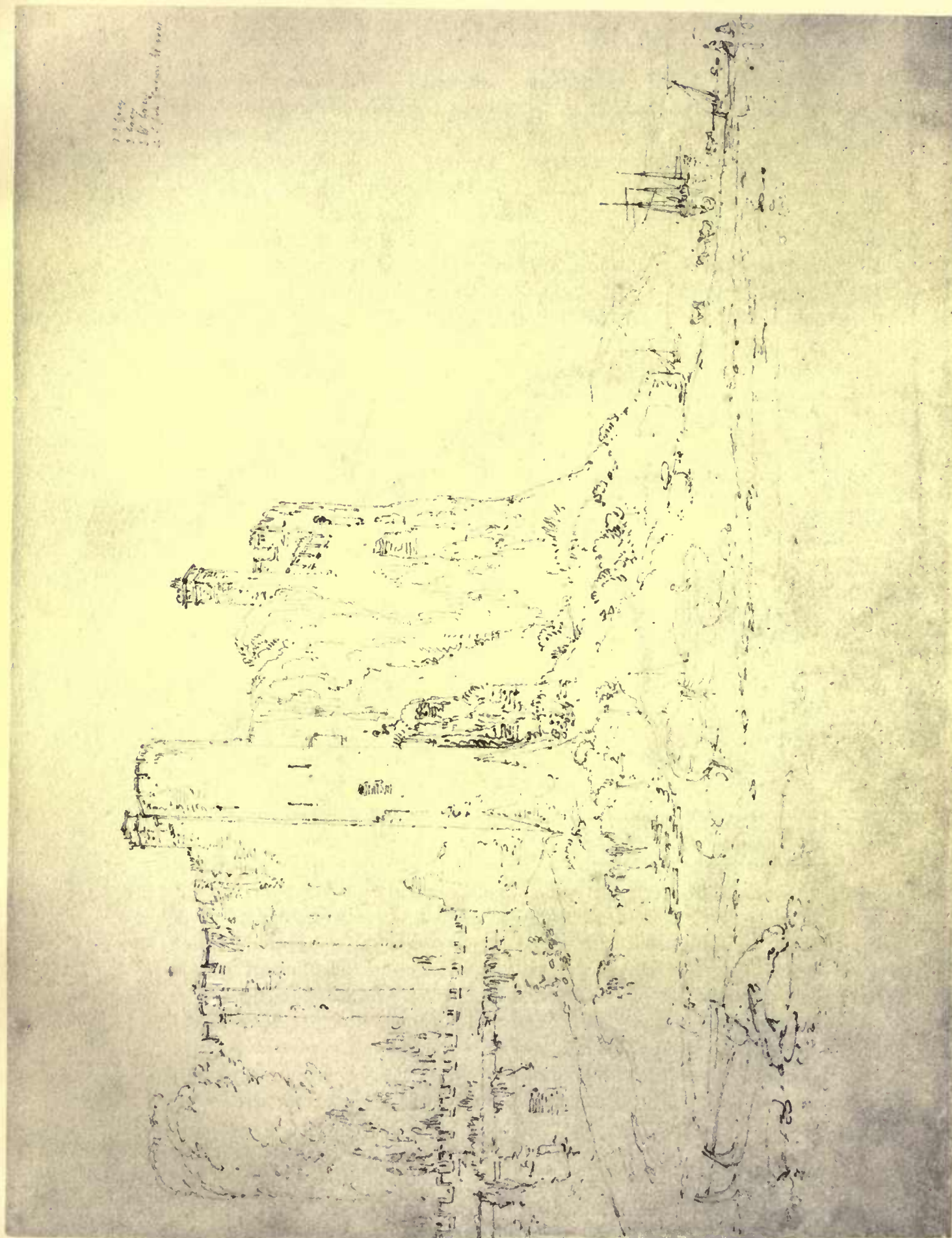
MELINCOURT FALL, VALE OF NEATH.

Page 8 of 'South Wales' Sketch Book.





RUINS OF LLANSTEPHAN CASTLE.



LAUGHARNE CASTLE,

added a rainbow and a gorgeous pageantry of clouds. I last saw this drawing at the sale of a portion of the Armstrong heirlooms at Christie's in June 1910.

Page 17. Part of Kidwelly Castle, looking the other way from preceding drawing, with Kidwelly Church in distance. (Not reproduced.)

18. Ruins of Llanstephan Castle, with kiln, figures, and vessel in foreground. (Plate LXXXV.)

An unfinished attempt to carry out this subject in water-colour is to be found among the other drawings of the Turner Bequest (XXVIII, D). The view of the castle is similar to that of the pencil sketch, but the kiln is different, and the figures and boats are differently arranged. The moon is seen rising just above the castle in the centre of the drawing, and is reflected in part of the water in the middle distance. The red light from the kiln dissipates the darkness of the foreground. The drawing is torn, crinkled, and dirtied, and a dark substance like varnish has been spilt over the moon and part of the sky. It is too damaged for reproduction.

19. Llaugharne Castle. Written in corner: '1. B. Grey.

2. Grey.

3. W. Grey.

4. L. Sap Green Water.'

The numbers refer to the figures on various parts of the drawing. (Plate LXXXVI.)

Turner seems to have made no use of this drawing until he was preparing his subjects for the 'England and Wales' series. The water-colour he then made was published in 1833. While retaining the architectural details of the scene, he changed the effect entirely, altering the calm and peaceful character of the pencil-drawing to a scene of storm and turmoil. A dismasted vessel is seen at anchor in the bay, and the stormy sea in the foreground is strewn with wreckage. The rocks at the foot of the castle are crowded with figures busy salving this wreckage. By the time he made this drawing Turner was not satisfied to give the merely topographical features of a scene. He was more concerned with the dramatic possibilities of the sea and air. The treatment of the rolling breakers in the drawing excited the special admiration of Mr. Ruskin, who has devoted some eloquent pages to their description and analysis in the first volume of *Modern Painters* (pp. 367-73). This drawing was lent by Mr. James Gresham, of Woodheys Park, Ashton-on-Mersey, to an exhibition at the Manchester Whitworth Institute in 1912.

NOTES ON BONINGTON'S PARENTS

By C. E. HUGHES

I SHOULD have liked to be able to call this article 'Notes on Bonington's Childhood', but that is impossible, for scarcely any explicit facts are known about Bonington before he left England. So far as the artist himself is concerned I have little to offer beyond material from which one may draw more or less definite conclusions. He lived with his parents, and an account of their mode of life gives some idea of his early environment. That is perhaps my best excuse for publishing the following details. Another excuse is that they have enabled me to correct several errors which have crept into biographies of Bonington. Chief among these corrections, I think, is that of the date of his departure from England, which hitherto has been given as 1816. I place the arrival in France at the end of 1817 or the beginning of 1818, and thus curtail by a year or more the period of his working life—a period, even on the old computation, amazingly short for the extent of its achievement. Other errors relate to his parents. Memoirs of Bonington have given his father a rather bad name, and I am not sure that he deserves it. They have accused him vaguely of excesses which had the effect, first, of wrecking a school for young ladies kept by his wife, and, finally, of driving him and his family from Nottingham to the Continent. So far as I can see there is not a word of truth in any of this. Bonington's father was possibly erratic, possibly not a very hard worker, possibly not perfect in other ways, but I am certain he was not quite so black as he has been painted. Perhaps Bonington would have been just as great an artist if his father had really been, as he has been represented, a political brawler who neglected his domestic affairs. That is a matter for conjecture and has no place here. We are dealing with facts.

Bonington's father, Richard Bonington, was the son of Richard Bonington and his first wife, Mary Truman, who were married on May 22, 1766. Richard Bonington, the father, was born in April, 1768, and was baptized at St. Mary's, Nottingham, on the 21st of that month. If, as is suggested later, he spent some part of his life at sea, we may take it that this was during his late boyhood or early manhood, for in 1789 he was appointed to succeed his father—the artist's grandfather—as Governor of the County Gaol at Nottingham. Richard Bonington, the grandfather, died August 18, 1803, aged 73, as is shown by the headstone in St. Mary's churchyard. The post of Governor of the Gaol was, during a great part of the period of his tenure of it, one curiously out of accord with modern ideas. He received £20 a year, and was permitted to supplement this income by the sale of liquor to the prisoners in his charge. He seems to have fulfilled

his duties to the general satisfaction, for in 1785 the salary was increased by £100 yearly in consideration of his long and faithful services, and an additional £20 was granted to him in lieu of the profit to be derived from the drink traffic.

For some time the grandfather had also been keeper of the Town Gaol at a salary of £8 a year, and this post he retained till he resigned it ten months before his death.

The County Gaol stood on the site now occupied by the County Hall, where the assizes are held. Not much of the prison remains, but there are traces of the original cells. They are built in the arched vaults on which the structure was supported. Two complete cells survive with their old doors. They measure about eight feet by four or less, are without light, and are ventilated only by a pair of circular holes, three or four inches in diameter, in the thickness of the wall over the doorways. These doorways give on to a passage with a strongly barred window overlooking the roofs of the part of the old town known as Narrow Marsh.

Whether Richard Bonington, junior, was granted favours similar to those enjoyed by his father when he succeeded him, there is no evidence to show. That he lived in the prison prior to his appointment is clear from a paragraph in the local paper, dated November 1, 1783: 'On Monday morning, between two and three o'clock, Mr. Richard Bonington, junior, was awoke by a noise in his room. Alarming his father, they found it was caused by two prisoners who made their escape.' How they managed it passes the comprehension of any one who has seen the two cells which I have described, unless the warders, relying too much on the mason's work, were lax in their guard. Possibly discipline was none too strict even in old Richard's time, and when young Richard succeeded it was evidently less so, for he is said on one occasion to have narrowly escaped dismissal owing to his having to be escorted home in a rather muddled condition by the 'guardians of the night'. This lapse was overlooked, and it was not until he began to discuss politics with the prisoners and to read them the writings of Tom Paine, that he was subjected to pressure which resulted in what is politely called his resignation.

He probably held the post for some six or seven years. On vacating it he seems to have been at no loss for an occupation. He immediately turned his hand to the practice of art, for we find the following advertisement in the *Nottingham Journal* for April 29, 1797:

'R. Bonington,

Drawing master (at Mr. Needham's, the Portrait Painter) in Hounds Gate, Nottingham, respectfully informs the ladies and gentlemen of Nottingham and its vicinity that he has opened a Public Drawing School at his lodgings. Private attendance upon any Lady or Gentleman if required. R. Bonington will occasionally employ his leisure in drawings for sale, which he hopes will not be found undeserving of Public Attention.'

An announcement of the reopening of the school in January, 1798, shows that the enterprise met with some success. In July of the same year there is another announcement of reopening, but Bonington calls himself 'Drawing Master at Captain Grundy's, Goose Gate'. A year later, 1799, his advertisement describes him as 'at Mr. Hutton's, Butt Dyke', an address which is confirmed by the *Nottingham Directory* of that year. In August, 1799, we get a hint of the definitely commercial aspect of his art in an announcement of the completion of 'a pair of drawings from scenery in the vicinity of Sheffield, exhibiting different views of the town, from which he purposes to publish two prints in aquatinta'. These are to be 10s. 6d. each plain, and 21s. each in colours. Subscriptions are invited at the shop of a Sheffield carver and gilder who has the drawings on exhibition, and by the artist himself 'At Mr. Rother's, Confectioner, Bridle-smithgate, Nottingham', where, presumably, he was now living. In January, 1800, there is a further change of lodgings. 'R. Bonington, Junr., Drawing Master', is now at Mr. Tomlinson's in Weekday Cross and his school 'recommences on Tuesday, 28th instant'. He is still, as hitherto, open for 'private attendance on ladies and gentlemen in Nottingham and vicinity'.

He seems to have remained with Mr. Tomlinson for over a year, until his marriage in July, 1801, with Eleanor Parkes at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London, where Turner's parents had also been married some twenty-eight years earlier. Miss Parkes came from Birmingham, and she doubtless met her husband during visits to Nottingham. Why the wedding took place in London is not quite clear, but we may gather from the following notice in the Nottingham newspaper for November 7, 1801, that she was living there before her marriage :

'Mrs. Bonington takes the earliest opportunity of informing her friends, the inhabitants of Nottingham and its vicinity, that finding it impossible to obtain an eligible house in Nottingham, she has fixed on a very commodious one at Arnold (the late residence of Mr. Robert Davison) which she purposes completing in a style proper for the reception of a limited number of young ladies, whom she intends educating on a liberal and useful plan.

'The long practice Mrs. Bonington has had in instructing the youthful mind in schools and families of the first respectability near London, will, she hopes, enable her to lay before those parents and guardians who may honour her with their children, such a practical system of education, as shall insure a continuance of their support.

'Mrs. B. thinks it but just to inform the public in general that the house is quite entire, with a garden and good playground walled in ; situated in a dry and airy spot but a short distance from the Mansfield Road.

'Cards of the terms of the school will be distributed as soon as possible.

'Mr. Bonington presents his respectful acknowledgements to his friends and the public in general, informing them that he shall attend the Academy in Nottingham, the several schools in the county, and give private lessons to families as usual.'

The 'very commodious' house at Arnold has been identified. It is a well-designed building of brick and stone, with a garden extending from the front, round one side to the back. It is an attractive-looking house, and at the time of

the Boningtons' marriage must have borne an air of respectability. Arnold was then a residential suburb. It is now chiefly occupied by people of the working class, and few traces of its former dignity remain. It was at this house that Richard Parkes Bonington was born.

The school for the limited number of young ladies seems to have met with the modest success for which Mrs. Bonington hoped. The files of the *Nottingham Journal* provide us with a regular index of its progress, and incidentally give the lie to the tradition which has been fostered by biographers of the young painter to the effect that owing to his father's ill name it was wrecked soon after its inauguration. I can trace no definite records to account for his evil reputation. Nottingham was frequently troubled with political agitations, and Richard Bonington, who, as we have seen, held strong opinions and occasionally aired them at awkward moments, doubtless bore his part in the ultra-radical cause. But he does not appear to have achieved any notoriety worthy of notice in the local press, where one might certainly expect to find some hint of it if it had existed. The local press, it is true, was not in those days so local as such a sheet would be to-day. Local news was probably regarded as too trivial, or perhaps too trite, to receive much attention in columns which were eagerly scanned for intelligence of the French wars and the parliamentary debates. Still, local items were given a place, as we have seen in the case of the prisoners who escaped, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that if Richard Bonington were really the terrible reprobate he is represented to have been, something to that effect would have been printed about him. We find, on the contrary, among the newspaper advertisements and elsewhere, nothing but indications that he was a respectable citizen doing his best to earn enough to pay his way, living fairly comfortably, and enjoying with some joviality the society of his friends, as artists will, whether they be great or mediocre.

The removal of the school from Arnold to Nottingham, said by biographers to have been due to Richard Bonington's excesses of one kind or another, is proved on the evidence of the following quaintly worded extract from the newspaper of November 27, 1802, to have been nothing more than the development of the scheme according to Mrs. Bonington's original design :

'Mrs. Bonington respectfully informs the inhabitants of Nottingham and its vicinity that having at length obtained a house in Nottingham very eligibly situated in St. James's Street, she purposes continuing her school, for the limited number of 12 young ladies, on the same plan as formerly announced; but in consequence of being on the spot for a regular and more advantageous supply from the markets of the essentials of life than was the case during her residence in the country, Mrs. B. will be able to make such an alteration in her terms, as, she doubts not, will meet with the approbation of those parents and friends who may honour her with the care of their children.

'Mrs. Bonington is happy in having so favourable an opportunity as the present, of

informing her friends and the public that after the Christmas vacation she intends opening a Day School for young ladies on the following terms :

'English education, and plain sewing . . .	£1. 1. 0 per qr.
Entrance	10. 6 „ „
Ornamental needlework	10. 6 „ „
Geography	1. 1. 0 per ann.

'Writing, drawing, music, dancing, &c. on the terms of the respective masters.

'Day boarders will also be accommodated.'

As before, her husband adds a note :

'R. Bonington, Portrait Painter and Drawing Master, takes this opportunity of informing the Public, that having returned to Nottingham, he purposes re-opening his Drawing School, for the reception of pupils at his house, St. James's Street. . . .'

Notices of reopening occur, with those of numerous other schools in the neighbourhood, pretty regularly twice a year, and we need not quote them in detail. They contain, moreover, frequent signs that the school is not a failure. In January, 1803, Mrs. Bonington announces her readiness to receive both boarders and day scholars. In January, 1805, she specifically mentions 'the late increase of her school'.

In February of the same year R. Bonington announces for issue in March, at 15s. each, engravings from a portrait of the Rev. George Walker, of Manchester, who was minister of the High Pavement Chapel in Nottingham from 1774 to 1798. These duly appeared.

In March, 1806, we find the artist launching out. He announces that

'having opened connexions with Messrs. Boydell and Coy. and other eminent Houses in London, he has taken an eligible situation at the end of Shoe Booths, near the Market Place, Nottingham, where he will keep a complete assortment of the most valuable prints and drawings, with every other requisite for the gratification and instruction of all who admire the various imitations of nature and art. To the ladies in particular he can recommend a very choice display of fancy articles at the opening of his Repository on Saturday the 29th inst.'

The houses known as Shoe Booths still exist, though I understand they are doomed to early demolition as part of a scheme of improvement. They stand immediately opposite the small butcher's shop in which Kirke White was born.

Some indication of the nature of the 'fancy articles' which Mr. Bonington had on sale is to be found in a notice which appeared three months later. In this he

'informs the public that he has just received an assortment of the most modern music from Clementi and Co., also a large stock of superfine writing papers, a choice collection of optical glasses, camera obscuras, &c., and a fresh supply of prints and drawings.'

The venture was, however, short-lived. As early as February, 1807, 'R. Bonington respectfully informs the inhabitants of Nottingham, that he pur-

poses selling off under prime cost his stock of prints, fancy goods, etc.' 'The Repository', he adds, 'will positively be closed in a fortnight.' Later in the same year Richard Bonington reverts to the topographical work which, as we have seen, he had attempted before his marriage. He announces the publication by subscription of two views of the town of Nottingham 'showing its relative situation on the Trent'. They are to be 'engraved in aquatinta by the best artists, and coloured after the manner of the drawings'. In the event of success these are to be followed by others 'illustrative of the town and its approximate scenery from their most favourable points of view'. The prices—presumably of the pair, since 'those persons who wish to subscribe to one print only may do so, if more agreeable'—are to be one guinea for coloured impressions, and 18s. for plain.

It is worth noting that about this period Thomas Barber was also publishing aquatint views of the town.

In June, 1808, we read of the publication of Richard Bonington's 'South-West View of Nottingham'—a copy is in the Castle Museum—and of the forthcoming issue of two more views in the series.

Meanwhile Mrs. Bonington's school is still thriving. In January, 1809, she 'is happy to inform her friends and the Public, that she has in view a more eligible situation than her present residence, which will be completed for her reception on or before Lady Day'. In April we get further particulars :

'Mrs. Bonington embraces the earliest opportunity of announcing to her friends and the public that she has taken an excellent house in Park Row, which is completely fitted up for the reception of boarders and day pupils on a new and liberal plan. A situation more eligible could not have been chosen, as it combines every advantage of town and country. The premises are large and quite entire, with a convenient playground, a schoolroom 33 feet in length, and within a few paces of the Park.'

Following his former practice Richard Bonington

'also avails himself of the same medium to inform the nobility and gentry, in the county, and the gentry and inhabitants of Nottingham, that he intends opening an Exhibition Room for portraits in oil, &c. at his house in Park Row.'

The researches of Mr. G. H. Wallis, the director of the Nottingham Castle Museum, have settled beyond doubt the situation of this house. It is towards the top of the hill, and forms one of a block which then faced open country.

The move was effected in due course, but the success of the venture in more suitable premises was not quite commensurate with Mrs. Bonington's hopes, and from this time I trace a gradual decline in the prosperity of her undertakings. It is, of course, possible that this was due to the irregularities which tradition has attributed to her husband, but I doubt it. His own advertisements indicate some measure of success in the sale of his prints, and he had, moreover, the

respect of a considerable number of his fellow townsmen, as is shown by the fact that in 1815 he offered himself for election as a junior councilman of the corporation and retired from the contest only after an exciting struggle which lasted eight days. Personally I am more inclined to attribute the check in the school's progress to the perceptible decline of Nottingham at this time as a social centre. Commercial prosperity was beginning to render the neighbourhood less attractive to the 'nobility and gentry', and county families who had houses in the town which they occupied during certain months in the year were abandoning these residences in favour of their country seats. This might deprive Mr. Bonington of many of the drawing pupils whom he visited at their houses; certainly Mrs. Bonington would lose many of the little girls who came to her for instruction, which, if their houses lay farther afield, they would obtain from nursery governesses. The number of private schools in Nottingham, of which there were at least fifteen in 1802, had considerably diminished in 1812, and educational effort of this character was becoming centralized in more important establishments, presided over by people of abilities more definitely certified than either Mr. or Mrs. Bonington's.

To whatever cause we may attribute it, there was unquestionably a set-back in the family fortunes. We trace it in the efforts which Mrs. Bonington made between 1810 and 1814 to render her curriculum more attractive. On one occasion she announces 'a fashionable and expeditious style of writing taught in one quarter, if required'; and on another she 'takes the opportunity to acquaint her friends that she purposes teaching flower-painting to young ladies'. There is, too, a pathetically plaintive note in her expressions of thanks to her patrons, and in her statements of what she is prepared to do for them.

Possibly I am reading here too much between the lines, but I cannot help feeling that her advertisements suggest the efforts of a hard-working woman trying to keep up appearances in the face of adversity.

Mr. Bonington, too, abandons the brief style in which he has hitherto appealed to the readers of the *Journal* and introduces details. In January, 1814, he

'informs his friends and the Public that he still continues to give instruction in the several branches of oil and crayon painting, water coloured drawings, figures, &c. Perspective taught and illustrated by the most easy demonstrations as applicable to buildings and machinery. Terms for private and public attendance and for schools may be known at his house in Park Street, where specimens of his portrait and landscape painting, drawings of various descriptions, &c., are on exhibition from the hours of ten to twelve, and from three to five.'

He adds a note of his ability to supply 'drawing materials of the best quality' and impressions of his prints.

In 1810 there is another interesting development. Miss Phyllis Parkes,

Mrs. Bonington's sister, opens a school for young ladies in Arnold, and for a brief period the announcements of the two principals appear in the *Journal* together. This venture may have been in the nature of an experiment with a view to testing the advisability of removing Mrs. Bonington's own establishment to the district in which she had started. Nothing came of it, however, and Miss Parkes's advertisements soon cease to appear.

Some time before 1814, as the above notice shows, the Boningtons left the 'excellent house in Park Row' and moved into Park Street, and gradually the character of the educational establishment underwent a change. In January, 1817, we read:

'Mr. and Mrs. Bonington respectfully inform their friends and the public that their Drawing School will reopen on Monday the 27th inst. They will also continue to attend schools and private families in Nottingham and its vicinity as usual.'

Mr. Bonington also gives notice of the publication of his print of 'Belvoir Castle after the late fire', and the price of the print, we observe, is only 3s. 6d. Mrs. Bonington, apparently, is no longer able to make ends meet with her little school. She is compelled to go out to give lessons.

There are further signs of straitened circumstances in the records of the High Pavement Chapel, which the Boningtons attended, and where the birth of their son, Richard Parkes Bonington, in 1802, was registered. Through the courtesy of Mr. J. C. Warren, of Nottingham, to whom, and to Mr. F. W. Dobson, I am indebted for much valuable assistance, I am able to give the following particulars of Richard Bonington's subscriptions to that community. His yearly payments begin in 1802 with one and a half guineas. In 1805 this is raised to two guineas, which sum is regularly paid until 1809, when he begins to get into arrears. These are all made up by 1813, but after that date the payments are erratic. In May, 1816, he pays three guineas, one of which is put against arrears but does not clear them off. His last payment, one guinea, is made at Martinmas, 1816, and in 1817 his name drops out.

The subscription book shows that payments ranged from a few shillings to six or eight guineas, and Richard Bonington's two guineas may be taken as that of a fairly well-to-do member of the congregation. It is evident, then, that about the year 1816 money is becoming scarce, and a year later plans are being laid for the departure for France in search of a fresh field of enterprise. This took place towards the end of 1817, or in the beginning of 1818, not in 1816 as has been stated in various memoirs. Interesting portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Bonington at this time are to be found in volume vi of S. W. Ryley's *Itinerant, or Memoirs of an Actor*. Ryley, who was known professionally by the name of Romney, paid a visit to Nottingham in the early part of 1817.

'The following morning', he writes, 'I waited on Mr. Richard Bonington, to whom I had a letter of introduction; and a neat, accomplished, prepossessing female received me

with much politeness and good humour, in the character of Mrs. Bonington. The whole of the dwelling impressed me with respect for its owners, from the cleanliness and comfort visible in its arrangements. Mr. Bonington is an artist of celebrity, and his lively better self indulged me in his absence with a view of his works, at the same time conversing in a style superior to females in general. . . .

'Mr. Bonington soon made his appearance, and being informed who I was, with a cheerful countenance, and a hearty shake by the hand, exclaimed, "Mr. Romney, I rejoice to see you. You are welcome to my cabin. You are the man I have much wished to come alongside of, and now you've boarded me, you shall not set sail again till we have emptied the locker of a bottle at least."

"You are very polite, Mr. Bonington; but excuse me to-day."

"Excuse you! Shiver my timbers if I do, though." He then enquired what time dinner would be ready, and proposed a walk to the Castle in the meantime.

"You have been at sea, Mr. Bonington, I presume," said I, as we stood admiring the prospect.

"At sea, sir!" replied he; "you may say that, my hearty. I have seen some service. But I soon got moored in the harbour of matrimony, and instead of brushing the ocean, I now brush canvas to a pretty good account." . . .

'Highly pleased with my walk, and the warm-hearted welcome of the worthy artist, I returned to dinner, and spent the afternoon very pleasantly, aided by the conversation of a respectable dissenting minister, who resided in the family.

'I of course explained my views in coming to Nottingham, and received the voluntary assurance of every service and assistance; which was most religiously verified, even beyond expectation. . . .

'My friend, the artist, from whose nautical phrases, athletic appearance, and fondness for his original profession, I designated the Admiral, took so warm a part in my concerns, and exerted himself so much for my interest, which he had great power to promote, from the number of respectable boarding-schools he attended, that I entertained an idea of taking the theatre for my next performance.

"That's right, my hearty," said he. "Never fear; we'll weather the storm. Take the helm of the great ship for a cruise—spread your top sails—hang out your signals—clear the decks—I'll find a few hearty shipmates to man the yards; and if we don't bring you into port, well laden, say I'm no sailor—that's all."

Ryley says that 'through the introduction of this kind-hearted man he was daily engaged in parties', of one of which he gives a long account detailing a conversation with a ghost seer.

'My performance', he continues, 'being advertised in both the papers for the following Monday, my friend the Admiral worked for me day and night, with more zeal than probably he would have exerted for himself. All the families to whom I had letters took boxes and were in other respects kindly, hospitable, and frequent in their invitations. . . .

'All the time my friend, the Admiral, could spare from teaching and portrait painting, in which he was fully and most respectably employed, was devoted to my service. The evening but one, previous to my performance, "Come, my hearty," said he, "now I'll introduce you to the snug little cabin of a light cruiser, down the channel here in narrow seas, Captain Perry, commander."

'He then took me down a narrow lane and into the parlour of a tavern. The room

was so small, that fifteen people could scarcely sit comfortably, yet double the number found room.

"What cheer, my hearties," cried the Admiral, "can you give a berth to an old shipmate, who has stood some heavy gales in his time?"

'For me to sit seemed impracticable—yet such was the disposition to accommodate that we both found seats, and *Captain* Perry, as my friend called him, a little smiling good-natured man, set before us some famous Nottingham ale. The Admiral, in his usual way, introduced me to the company, and a set of more hearty, generous, jolly fellows I never met with. People in the middle walk of life, respectable tradesmen, possessing a neighbourly harmony and good fellowship towards each other, pleasing to behold. . . .

'The long-expected evening at length arrived, and the Admiral piped all hands. "Every man to his post," said he, "Captain Perry, Parke [possibly the son, Parkes], and I, three stout lads, will watch the gangway, and if any lubber passes without paying his reckoning, shiver my timbers, that's all." Accordingly the Admiral and his friends kept watch, as he called it, at the door, that the whole of the receipts might come into my possession. To make short of the matter, I was more numerous and respectably attended than my most sanguine hopes could have foreseen, and the receipts amounted to *sixty pounds!!!*

"Did I not tell you, my hearty, when you were lowering your jib the other day," said my friend, "that we should bring you safe into port? I thought we might fire a decent gun, by way of rejoicing, but d—n me, if I expected a *sixty pounder*."

The references to Richard Bonington close with a letter of gratitude written from Loughborough, whither the actor proceeded on leaving Nottingham.

We are compelled, of course, to take this glowing picture at something of a discount. Richard Bonington evidently did Ryley a good turn, and the actor shows his gratitude in terms which can scarcely be accepted literally by biographers. There is a stagey artificiality about the naval metaphors, for instance, which makes it quite conceivable that there may be nothing more in the suggestion of a seafaring life than the memory of some jest which grew out of a chance word when the pair met. Again, 'he was fully and most respectably employed' and yet was able to devote part of a morning and a whole afternoon to entertaining an unexpected visitor. One thing, however, seems certain, and that is that Richard Bonington had at this period, at any rate, some connexion among people who could afford to patronize the theatre. He appears as a man with many friends, a man who is all energy—as are many men of an artistic turn—when there is no question of profit to himself. He is evidently the good tavern companion which he has been called, and there is nothing to suggest one whom we should expect shortly to be forced to leave his native town under a cloud.

Moreover, there is evidence that Ryley's description is based on fact in at least some of its particulars. The 'Captain' was Joseph Perry, the landlord of a tavern in Peck Lane, where there was a kind of tradesmen's club which held periodical meetings. At these gatherings there were animated discussions of the news of the day. The newspaper was read aloud by the best reader of the company—frequently Perry himself—who, as a reward, was supplied with

refreshment at the expense of his companions. Descendants of Joseph Perry still live in Nottingham and the neighbourhood, and tradition states that his son John was a close friend of Richard Parkes Bonington, his junior by twelve years, and that he and his wife visited the young painter in Paris in 1825.

Richard Bonington was evidently a member of the Peck Lane community, and from Ryley's picture we get no hint of the depression which we might expect in one who is flying from ruin in one country to the vague uncertainties of a struggle for sustenance in another. His departure seems to be the act of an intelligent business man anticipating difficulties. Evidently he has made some satisfactory dispositions which endow the new venture with bright prospects. What arrangement exactly he made we find no record to show. All we know is that in partnership with two men, Clarke and Webster, he set up a factory in Calais. The Nottingham directories of the period give no clue to the identity of the Webster who accompanied Bonington, though a Hammond Webster, a lace manufacturer, was working in the town in 1818. James Clarke, also a lace manufacturer, who was in Broad Lane in 1815, does not appear in 1818, and thus may possibly be his other companion. At any rate, whoever his coadjutors were, we find him in August, 1817, definitely clearing up his affairs prior to departure. The *Nottingham Review* gives a notice of the sale of his household effects. This, taken together with Ryley's jaunty description, gives a very intimate glimpse of the surroundings in which young Bonington spent his early years. I quote it in full.

'Mr. Bonington, having relinquished his profession of drawing master, solicits the attention of the nobility, gentry, and the public, to his collection of original paintings, and drawings, etc., which will be offered for sale on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, August 26th, 27th and 28th, 1817, in Mr. Stubb's great room, to where the property will be removed for the convenience of sale by Mr. E. B. Robinson.

'Together with the whole of the valuable, neat and very useful household furniture, comprising two sets of mahogany chairs, large mahogany bookcase with wings and secretary, dining, card, Pembroke, and other tables, four chests mahogany drawers, five superfine feather beds, five tent bedsteads and furniture, mattresses, fine blankets, carpets, large camera obscura, pair of modern globes, modern tea urns, butler's tray, and an extensive assortment of kitchen requisites, barrels, and brewing utensils. Several valuable proof prints, framed and glazed, capital telescope, handsomely mounted [perhaps a relic of his seafaring days], an excellent counter with mahogany top, and sundry other articles as will be expressed in particulars to be had of Mr. Robinson three days before the sale.

'Also, immediately after the sale of the paintings, will be sold by auction, subject to conditions which will be produced, that truly eligible freehold dwelling house in the occupation of Mr. Lamb, haberdasher, situate in Shoe Booths, comprising cellars, shop, three rooms above, and attic, being one of the best and most central situations in the town of Nottingham. Particularly desirable for any retail fancy trade.'

The inclusion of the centrally situated house in Shoe Booths suggests that Richard Bonington owned the freehold, but of this I have no definite evidence.

The sale was postponed until September, and then duly took place, and we may assume that the Boningtons made their way to Calais towards the end of the year or at the beginning of 1818.

Richard Bonington's departure to a foreign country to engage in a trade for which apparently he had no special qualifications invites a word or two of comment. His action is not so remarkable as it appears at first sight. Emigration to the Continent was attracting a good deal of notice at the time. The Peace of Paris, which brought to a conclusion the long war between England and France, had for its first effects the facilitation of travel. It was not immediately all plain sailing, for we find Sir David Wilkie describing in a letter dated 1816 how he suffered a temporary inconvenience after having been arrested in the act of completing a sketch of Hogarth's celebrated gate at Calais. But the passage of visitors soon became general, and it was not long before scaremongers in the press were prophesying the desertion and ruin of England. A long article in the *Nottingham Journal* in June, 1816, deplores 'the rage for emigration which prevails in the upper and independent classes of society', and discusses the question from the standpoints of climate, economy, and the education of children. 'In France', says the writer of this diatribe, 'what is gained in convenience (*comfort* is exclusively English) is lost in climate.' We read that 'in May upwards of 2,000 passports for the Continent were issued to noblemen, gentlemen and manufacturers, and that owing to this exodus the distress among the operative manufacturers of Nottingham, Leicester and Derby by the stagnation of trade almost exceeds belief'.

We can readily imagine the effect produced by such statements as these on Richard Bonington and other readers of the Nottingham newspapers. We picture his visions of distressed manufacturers no longer able to afford to buy topographical prints, or to provide their children with the luxury of drawing lessons, and we can see him turning his eyes to France as to a land of promise.

The selection of Calais as his resting-place was, as a matter of fact, something in the nature of a compromise between staying in England and complete alienation, for during many years there had been direct commercial relations between Calais and Nottingham. Early in the eighteenth century, from December 1704 to October 1711, Marshal Tallart, who was a captive in England, had a fine house in Nottingham, and since his time there had been a quite considerable number of French residents in the town. The two nationalities were connected by numerous marriages, and the directory to-day shows a fair sprinkling of French names. Incidentally, one may add, there is a steady sale of French newspapers.

Miss Susanna Corner, a lady who has devoted much diligence to the study of Nottingham traditions, and whose memory can carry her back to the time when Bonington's early death was still a topic of conversation among his

sorrowing acquaintances, tells me she came in contact some years since with an old woman who about 1810 to 1815 earned her living by means of a curious commerce between the two towns. She was employed with about a dozen other girls to travel to and fro between Nottingham and Calais. The girls would return wearing large Tuscany, or Leghorn, straw hats. There was a good demand for these in England, and they fetched about £4 each. Sent over in the ordinary way, they were subject to a very heavy—almost prohibitive—duty, but brought over in actual use as wearing apparel they escaped the tax. The price obtained for them enabled the astute merchant to pay the girls' fares and still make a good profit.

Such a trade as this, though it is evidence of direct communication between the two towns, is, however, only an incidental matter. The principal link was the lace trade, and in connexion with this class of manufacture there was a constant interchange of ideas. Richard Bonington had therefore opportunities of learning what were the prospects of success in his new enterprise, and we may suppose that he purchased a share in an existing business or, with his two partners, started a new one in an industry which was sufficiently well established to present a reasonably safe investment to one who was himself prepared to take an active part in the work.

With this new move we may take it that he abandoned his practice as a painter, and we may estimate the extent of his artistic leanings by the fact of his being able to step so easily from one means of livelihood to another. Art had been in his hands a commercial weapon, and he could lay it aside as readily as the conscript can turn from the sword to the ploughshare. This is not to say that he was altogether lacking in an appreciation of art for itself. He must undoubtedly have had some taste, for at the sale of his effects after his death in December, 1835, a number of his copies from his son's works were dispersed, some of which are probably masquerading to-day as originals. But his own painting had very little merit—to judge from known examples—and it is perhaps something to his credit that he was able to see that it was not good enough to rely upon for a living.

As we have seen from his advertisements he practised both as a portrait painter and as a topographical draughtsman. I have mentioned the portrait of the Rev. George Walker. His works also include portraits of Blackner, the historian of Nottingham, who kept the Radcliffe Arms Inn in the town; Thomas Hancock, the well-known water engineer of Nottingham; Crosby, at one time postmaster of Nottingham; and Joseph Perry, the jovial innkeeper mentioned by the *Itinerant*.

One would have been glad to be able to add to this note some information as to Bonington's schooling, but unfortunately nothing is known on that subject. It is possible that the boy went to the High Pavement School, where John Malbon

was master at the time, but there is no record of his attendance. Mr. G. H. Wallis possesses an interesting relic of his early studies—a copy of *Corderii Colloquiorum Centuria Selecta*. This 'Select Century of Corderius's Colloquies, with an English translation as literal as possible, designed for the use of beginners in the Latin tongue, By John Clarke, 1798'—to give it its full formidable title—is inscribed with Bonington's signature decorated with an abundance of not very masterly flourishes, which suggest that there is not much truth in the statement, made by some of his more enthusiastic biographers, to the effect that he was something of an artist at three years of age.

Of the life of Bonington's parents after the departure for France few details can be given. Biographers of his son have set it on record that the family removed to Paris within a year or two of their settling at Calais. In Paris Richard Bonington opened a lace shop, possibly, though there is no definite information, with a view to disposing of the goods made in the Calais factory. As is well known, he accompanied his son to England when, shortly before his death in 1828, the young artist went to consult the charlatan St. John Long. The father was buried in London on January 3, 1836, and the mother survived her husband by about eighteen months.

(I.) A FURTHER NOTE ON HAUNCE EWORTH

BY LIONEL CUST.

THE article on the painter, Haunce Eworth, which I contributed to last year's volume of this series has excited so much interest and brought to me so many kind letters of appreciation, that I am emboldened to add a supplementary note of my own, and to welcome the evidence of interest and individual research, shown by the additional notes, which have been communicated to me by Mr. R. W. Goulding, librarian to the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey, and by Miss Mary Hervey, who has already identified herself with such studies of portraiture in the Tudor period.

Further research in the country houses of England would probably reveal other portraits, either signed by H. E. or easily to be ascribed to him. In addition to those noted by Miss Hervey and Mr. Goulding, I can add myself from personal inspection two companion portraits, belonging to Sir William Hyde Parker, Bart., at Long Melford Hall in Suffolk, stated to represent 'Sir Alexander Hyde' and 'Lady Hyde'. These portraits, which bear the date in each case of 1578 and the painter's monogram, are described in the Rev. E. Farrer's *Portraits in Suffolk Houses* (West), pp. 254-5. I should be disposed also to attribute to Haunce Eworth the interesting portrait of 'Francis Hervey' holding a halberd, painted in 1564, belonging to the Marquess of Bristol at Ickworth, which is reproduced in the same volume at p. 210.

On the other hand, I have, through the kindness of Mr. Charles Dowdeswell, been able to inspect a portrait, described by Walpole and attributed by Vertue to 'Lucas D'Heere', of a young man in a black dress, painted at the age of twenty-two in 1563, which came originally from Drayton and is supposed to represent a member of the Mordaunt family. I cannot accept this portrait, interesting as it is, as the work of Haunce Eworth, or at the moment suggest another painter.

Another phase of this painter's art was not mentioned by me, as it opened up a fresh path of research, which I have not had time to explore. It is clear that

Haunce Eworth not only painted portraits, but also historical and mythological compositions, which had some vogue in England during the Tudor period. Vertue noted an allegorical painting by H. E. at Gunton Hall in Norfolk, and at Copenhagen there is a painting of 'The Wise and Foolish Virgins', signed by H. E. and dated 1570, which is evidently painted under the influence of the Reformed religion. It is not uncommon to find in country houses, especially in East Anglia, paintings of Biblical or mythological subjects, painted in the bastard Italo-Flemish manner taught by Frans Floris, and strongly allied to the similar paintings of the school at Fontainebleau. These paintings are of indifferent merit, and not unfrequently deal with erotic subjects, more appreciated at that date than at the present day. It will be sufficient, therefore, at present to be content with calling attention to this branch of Tudor painting, which may be considered some day worthy of investigation as illustrative of English manners and habits at a time which gave birth to Shakespeare.

(II.) TWO PORTRAITS BY HAUNCE EWORTH

BY MARY F. S. HERVEY

THE fascinating problem of the authorship of certain portraits painted in Tudor times is gradually showing itself capable of solution. Many more years may pass before the entire ground is finally mapped out; but once the way in has been found, and paths approximately traced, travelling becomes easier. In this as in other things, the chief difficulty is to make a beginning.

It is not too much to say that, in this sense, Mr. Lionel Cust's contribution to last year's volume of the Walpole Society marks an epoch in the study of Tudor portraiture. For some years past it had been known that works signed with the monogram HE had been wrongfully ascribed to Lucas D'Heere, and were in reality the production of a Dutch painter, whose name, appearing in many variants, crystallizes, in the Lumley inventory of 1590, into the anglicized form of Haunce Eworth. But the task remained of bringing together a

sufficient number of works which could be credibly assigned to him, before his individuality as a painter could be sharply defined. Thanks to Mr. Cust, this has now been achieved; and from henceforth Haunce Eworth occupies a definite and considerable position in the annals of Tudor art. Even if not every example illustrated in last year's volume should be ultimately assigned to the workshop of Haunce Eworth, enough, and more than enough, remains to provide a sure basis for future research.

Every specimen of this undoubted stamp which can be added to the list is of value in throwing the painter's work into clearer relief; and it is with this object that I ask permission to introduce to the members of the Walpole Society the two fine and perfectly preserved portraits by Haunce Eworth which are here reproduced (Plates LXXXVII and LXXXVIII). These pictures are the property of Mr. le Strange, of Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk. They are on panel of vertical boards, and measure $19\frac{1}{2} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ in., the figures being half-length and less than life-size.

Sir Nicholas le Strange wears a black cap and black fur-lined dress, over which hangs a massive double gold chain. A ring is seen on the index finger of the uncovered right hand; the left hand is gloved, and grips the sword-hilt. At neck and wrists there are white frills which show a narrow black edge. The beard is red, the eyes dark grey; the firm and purposeful face is finely placed upon the panel. The plain background is of a dark-green colour. High up, on the right side, is the inscription: *AETATIS 39 1551 HE.* (Above this is written in cursive characters a spurious inscription, added at a later date: Sir Hamon L'Estrange, died 7 Oct. 1580.)

The second portrait, which is in all respects a pendant to that of Sir Nicholas, and painted at the same time, represents his second wife, Katharine, widow of Nicholas Mynne, and daughter of John Hide. The auburn hair of the period is surmounted by a square black hood, with the usual drapery at the back. The fresh skin and bright, dark eyes of the lady speak pleasantly of country air. Brown fur edges the black dress, and is caught at intervals by black loops. Frills of Spanish work encircle throat and wrists. The hands are clasped, holding a prayer-book, into the leaves of which the index finger of the left hand is thrust as a place-keeper. On this finger a ring is worn, and on the wrist of the same hand there is a gold bracelet. As in the portrait of Sir Nicholas, the background is of a plain dark green. In the upper right-hand corner is read the corresponding inscription: *AETATIS 29 1551 HE.* (Above this again is inserted a false inscription of later date: Elizabeth, wife of Sir Hamon L'Estrange.)

The original inscriptions on these pictures—i. e. those of age and date, and the artist's monogram—were made contemporaneously with the portraits, with some instrument such as a stile, impressed into the paint while it was soft. The

cursive inscriptions were done with a brush on the surface, and cannot have been added for a century or so after the pictures were painted, as the spelling of the name L'Estrange (with an apostrophe) was not adopted till the latter part of the reign of Charles I. Moreover, Hamon, who married Elizabeth Hastings, was never knighted; and, more conclusive than all, the dates do not fit.¹ It seems clear, therefore, that, in an age careless of genealogy, the son's name was substituted for that of the father.

Sir Nicholas le Strange was a good deal in public life. He was knighted by the Protector Somerset in camp at Roxburgh, in 1547; in that same year was appointed Steward for life of the Manors of Mary, Duchess of Richmond; was Member of Parliament for Norfolk 1547-52, a position he therefore held at the moment when this portrait was painted; High Sheriff in 1548; Member for Lynn in 1555, and for Castle Rising in 1571. A special point of interest in connexion with this picture is his participation in the Scottish campaign of 1547. Mr. Barclay Squire and Mr. Cust have already pointed out how many of those who fought in that expedition were subsequently painted by Haunce Eworth. The remark may be given a yet wider scope, for while a substantial share of patronage fell to the lot of Eworth, the campaign seems to have furnished a considerable amount of occupation to quite a group of painters; in fitting commemoration, no doubt, of the triumph brought to English arms by so great a victory as Pinkie.

Let us for a moment watch the painters at work. If I am right in supposing that the fine portrait at Newbattle of the 'Man with the Columbine Flowers', dated 1547, represents William, Lord Grey of Wilton²—and his conspicuous position in this campaign adds another link to the chain of evidence in his favour—we have his portrait, and that of Sir Peter Carew, also employed in the invasion of Scotland, painted by Gerlach Flicke. There follows the portrait of Sir James Wilford, knighted, like Sir Nicholas le Strange, by the Protector, before Roxburgh, and famous for the defence of Haddington. This appears to be by another hand; at least, it bears no resemblance to the work of either Flicke or Eworth in the only version known to me of this much-repeated picture, i. e. that belonging to Lord Stafford, which hangs, or hung till quite recently, at Costessy Park, Norwich. Next come three portraits by Haunce Eworth: in 1550, that of Captain Thomas Wyndham; in 1551, the fine presentments of Sir Nicholas le Strange and his wife, by the same hand; all three signed with the painter's monogram and dated. To these must be added

¹ These facts were kindly communicated by Mr. le Strange.

² See 'Notes on a Tudor Painter: Gerlach Flicke', *Burlington Magazine*, May 1910. The title of Lord Grey *de* Wilton was a new creation of a later period. Lord Grey is always mentioned in contemporary documents as Lord Grey *of* Wilton, his correct title, to which his son Arthur succeeded.



SIR NICHOLAS LE STRANGE

By Haunce Eworth

Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk



KATHARINE, WIFE OF SIR NICHOLAS LE STRANGE

By Haunce Eworth

Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk

the untraced portrait of 'Mr Edw: Shelley, slayne at Musselburgh feilde', mentioned in the Lumley inventory; a picture which, if taken from life, would afford an (at present) unique example of the earlier work of Haunce Eworth, since that battle was fought in 1547. Here, then, we have a group of at least three painters who helped to immortalize the heroes of the Scottish campaign; but it is true that amongst these Eworth has the lion's share.

The ten years from 1550 to 1560 mark the finest period of Haunce Eworth's work, as at present known to us. The year 1550 is the earliest date so far found on any of his pictures. But, as pointed out by Mr. Cust, the painter probably came to England soon after the death of Holbein (1543), and interesting discoveries may therefore be looked forward to which would throw light on his activity during this blank interval. After 1560 a decline sets in, not in the quantity but in the quality of his work; a deterioration which becomes more marked as the years go by.

It may be worth while, as a help to further identifications, to put together a few of the characteristics that often distinguish the portraits of Haunce Eworth in his earlier and better period. The eyes are not large, nor almond-shaped, and are placed rather far apart. But they are always a striking feature, owing to the full and penetrating iris, which covers a good deal of the white. The hair is carefully and characteristically treated, never as an indiscriminate mass such as is found in some of the later work. The hands, while by no means impeccable in drawing, are generally firm and flexible; they often show a rather long, straight thumb. In certain portraits of ladies on which the painter has bestowed especial skill, the hands are strikingly delicate, and exhibit considerable variety of attitude. A peculiar interlacing of the fingers, such as is seen in the portrait of Katharine Lady le Strange, later became a studio mannerism. Another peculiarity often found is a marked protuberance of the inner cartilage of the ear. Many of Eworth's portraits are, in varying degree, below life-size. He appears to have especially favoured these reduced dimensions.

Judging by the earliest portraits so far discovered, the painter found his chief patrons, in the first period of his sojourn in England, amongst the county gentry, and those enterprising soldiers and sailors who, going forth from their country homes, sprang into celebrity by their prowess on land or sea. The outdoor look of these early productions, the marked personal handling, the concise adaptation of means to end, are delightful. How well the painter understood the effect of fresh air on eyes and skin! In the simplicity and nature of these works, and their fine and solid technique, Eworth reveals his most attractive aspect; and it is to be hoped that further discoveries will gradually group themselves round the interesting nucleus with which the story of Tudor art has already been enriched.

(III.) NOTES ON ADDITIONAL HE PORTRAITS

BY RICHARD W. GOULDING.

A small portrait of a Turkish ambassador on horseback. Signed HE and dated 1549. *Brocklesby Park.*

A lady, half-length figure to sinister, with hands clasped in front of her ; curious horn-shaped head-dress.

Inscribed AETATIS XXVIII MDLXV. Signed in sinister top corner HE. *Wentworth Castle.*

Henry Wriothesley, second Earl of Southampton.

Small, three-quarter-length figure standing to sinister, right hand on hip, left by side.

Inscribed AETATIS 19 1566. Shield of arms in sinister top corner. Signed HE.

Reproduced in Sir Sidney Lee's illustrated *Life of William Shakespeare*. On panel $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ in. *Bridgewater House.*

Joan Thornbury, wife of Richard Wakeman, of Beckford.

Three-quarter-length standing to dexter, hands clasped in front, rings on first and third fingers of left hand, narrow closely-fitting ruff, with gold edges, and gold edges to cuffs ; black dress and cap ; very pale complexion. Signed HE.

Inscribed in uncials :

My chyldhoode past that bewtifid my FLESSHE
And gonne my youth that gave me color FRESSHE
Y am now cum to those rype yeris at last
That telles me howe my wanton days be past
And therfore frinde so turnes THE tyme me
Y[^e] ons was young and nowe am as you see

AETATIS XXXVI MDLXVI.

Cornbury Park.

Mary Browne, ob. 1607, wife of Henry Wriothesley, 2nd Earl of Southampton.

Small half-length figure, slightly to dexter, hands clasped in front ; the left one (with a ring on the first finger) holding her gloves ; rings on first and third fingers of the right hand ; pink dress with puffs of white, cut square at the neck where gold and white lace is inserted ; closely-fitting



MARY BROWNE, COUNTESS OF SOUTHAMPTON

'ÆTATIS 13, 1565'

By Haunce Eworth

Duke of Portland, K.G., Welbeck Abbey

high ruff and frilled cuffs with gold and white edging. A chain round her neck is caught at the bosom with a jewel. On her left breast an enamel scroll inscribed THE EARLE OF SOVTEHAMPTON. Long forehead, long upper lip, auburn hair, black coif, the front ornamented with pearls and with pink and white insertion; green background. Inscribed at sinister top corner :—ÆTATIS 13, 1565. Not signed. (Plate LXXXIX.)

Panel 17 × 13 in.

Welbeck Abbey, No. 215.



PORTRAIT OF GEORGE VERTUE.

From a drawing by himself, prefixed to one of his manuscripts in the British Museum (Add. 21,111).
The next plate is from another page in the same manuscript, and the two that follow from
Add. 23,076

Memoranda ~~of~~ Virtue

page 1
6

August 10. 1713

Three portraits painted by Raphael Urbino. his own picture is one, Machiaville, & an other, they^{are} in the house of the Dutches of Grafton.

W. J. Thomhill—

The Busto of King Charles 1.st made by the Cavalier Bernini.

which pictures
is now in the poss.
sion of the ~~last~~
Duch. at Rome.

was consumed in the fire at Whitehall 1697. this Busto

was made from the three faces painted by Vandyck which the

King sat for. Bernini made also ^{Busto in Marble} the head of Mr. Baker,

Bernini made
him a present
thereof. Baker
presented Bernini
100 broad pieces.

the Gentleman by whom this picture was sent to Rome. designing

there by to shew K. Charles. what he could do from the life

this head of Mr. Baker is in the possession of the Duke of

Kenne whose father bought it off S.^r Peter Lilly's, ^{the} it said

to be better than that was of the King.

W. J. Ragond. Carver

When Francisco Quenoy came to Rome Cavalier Bernini
grew jealous of him & used to say he could make nothing
but children. & gave him the name of Piamingo, the
Cavalier lived in great splendor but Quenoy the contrary, he
did not where withall, nor peredit to procure a Block of stone
when he had got a grant to make one of the marble
statues for the Altar of S.^t Peters church. however by
the assistance of a Baker a country man of his. who in-
gaged for the stone, he performed three of the four
statues to the great satisfaction of the pope & all artists
the other was made by the Cavalier, but not so well like of.

Francisco Quenoy died at Leghorn. it was his brother Gerard that was
put to death in Flanders. & as good a carver as his brother. Ragond.

- p. 34 Dy. H. Hulsberg. Engraver.
Mr. Dandridge Portrait Painted.
Highmore Painted
- 35 Copies of the Cartons, Knapton Piece
of Raphael. by J. J. James Thornhill.
Le Blonds Copies. Dts
for Tapestries.
Mr. Formeniere painted. Hoet &
Sheffert - p
- 36 Capt. Darvons escape. Challenge.
Peterdon enamelled dyd -
Mr. Merciere. painter to the Prince
Mr. Linke enamelled.
- 37 Hogrths. pictures approved. of
Barn & Dubose sent to Paris.
Damini History Painter.
- 38 Amiconi History Painter lately arrived.
of Hogrth paintings
a Point of Mr. Wyck.
Mr. Dyo brack Painted
Mr. Winstanley -
Copies of the Raphael's Cartons, by
Jervis -
- 39 John Vandyke Engraver
an engraver painter. a Poem -
J. G. G. by Kneller's mount
- 40 plates engraved by C. Creed
Mr. Eckman lately - not well
Raphael's Cartons (copies by J. J. J. Thornhill
Mr. Cooke. Walker -
at Peterworth Mr. Dells works.
... Short Engraver dyd
- 41 Mr. Linke Enamelled. -
Mr. Hyting - painted -
pictures of Vandyke &c. as at Walpole's.
Mr. J. Vandyke Bank -
Mr. Schomakers models done at Rome
- 42 Amiconi painting a stair Case
death of Marco. Ricci - painter.
- Gibson portrait painted -
- 43 Askenan painter his return
Parmentiere in York House
J. J. J. Thornhill's works for Mr. Styles.
Gifts received for building St. Martin's
death of Parmentiere.
- 44 Conversation of Hogrth's painting
Mr. Muller - Parmentiere book.
J. Ellis - painter
Duch of Kents pictures -
Mr. W. Kent Painter.

p. 35.

Adonis Rottiers engraver

9

- Thou Portical Epistles - to
Hogrth - Dandridge Lambert
- 46 Death of Mr. T. Bird -
- Amiconi. painted & Lamberts stain Case
a public account of the Death of Mr. Bird.
- 47 Mr. Lens Limmer. to his Majesty.
Mr. Linke Enamelled.
- Mr. Hogrth Caricatures
of Mr. Pylstruck the Monk. J. J. J. Newton.
- 48 Mr. Davison. painter. Signed Amiconi.
Casting of Busts Statues in Stone.
- 49 medals Engraved by Daciuse. Kings
Rotation. Clavis. Long.
- Scheme for granting. Models.
- 50 Ricci. painter. Chr. Jacob Leblon.
Schemakers. Mount of Chamberlain. Dolbo.
Shornhills. Copies of Raphael's Cartons
- 51 Hogrth's pictures of London Harold his
Mount of Subscribers.
Mr. Philips Dir. painter. Mr. Highmore
Mr. Dandridge.
Mr. Richardson Dir.
- Engravers Parisians in London
Dahl. Richardson Larvis
Engraver. Thornhill &c. & many others
paintings of Griston.
- Highmore - paintings of their Majestys.
- 52 Mr. George White. engraver. Microscopic limas &
oil Painters
J. J. J. James Thornhill Amiconi. Larvis -
- 53 on Mr. Kent. poems - J. G. Zick. Mr. Kent
caricatures. Kent. 54. Mr. Dandridge Levedige
Mr. Mich. Pylstruck. & Hottington. & other models from
the life - (J. G. Zick) at Westmoreland. J. G. Zick. Kneller's head. Hill. Murray. Richardson painting
Dandridge. pictures P. Wales. J. Van Bank. Gibson.
- 56 Hogrth. Models progress. Mr. Linke. Royal portraits.
J. G. Wood. Mr. Demais. Mr. Wotton. King horseback
57. Wooddall. Mr. G. White his remarkable works.
- 58 Schemakers. artists of Les Statues. J. G. Zick. Family.
Hamilton prints. Gibson. Models for Question Statue. R. Williams.
- 60 Jervis Amiconi. Wootton andrea. Knight I. W. Zick Ob.
to chosen in Gold. & Amiconi's portraits. Leblon Jean Ideal.
- 61 Shornhills. Christians. Linke Mr. Lest. Lehter Ob.
Zick Cabinet painter Hurley & Rome Harvey. Lela
- 62 Vandyke. Capt. Coram. J. G. Zick Ob. S. Ricci Ob. Murty J.
63. In Kent. & Shornhills Pylstruck. Delvaux Sculptors.
Kiddon. portrait Pylstruck Model. &c. Amiconi's Dubois
Garnet. Section Pylstruck. horse painted Amiconi
66. J. Shornhills horse portrait. Richardson. Lela.

Mr. ^{Gamer} Hamilton of the West of Scotland near Hamilton

his paintings of Conversation small figures are agreeable & much variety of conversation of mode & manner of the time & habits. he may well be esteemed a rival to Hogarth. having as much justness. if not so much fire.

at least a small family piece of Mr. Woodhouse painter. Family. particularly the figure of Mr. Woodhouse. it is equal to any I have seen of Hogarth. and all the rest not inferior in many respects.

But the piece of a Conversation of Vintners that usually meets at the King's Arms. Woodhouse is truly a Master piece as far as in does. truly shows him a Master of art. the persons thus represented.

one ten.

Mr. Dahl. Mr. Wm. Thomas. Mr. Gibb.

Mr. Myring. Mr. Bridgman. Gidner. Mr. Bower. Lym.

Mr. Wootton. Mr. Rydbrook. Statuary. Mr. Robinson.

Mr. Kew. Mr. Vermer. Mr. Bouquet. Mr. and his Hamilton picture. 1795.



Dahl 1. Thomas 2. Gibb 3. Myring 4. Bridgman 5. Gidner 6. Bower 7. Lym 8. Wootton 9. Rydbrook 10. Statuary 11. Robinson 12. Kew 13. Vermer 14. Bouquet 15. Hamilton picture.

the proposition of the piece was to promote the interest of Mr. Hamilton and to be done by subscription & pictures each person to pay him. and when the picture is given down to be raffled for. was raffled for on 15 April. 1795. and won by Mr. Bouquet - 40. highest number. since and since sold by him the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Hill Operative dyd at Mitcham.

the Statue of H. William - the brass horse cast at once. that is the horse (excepting the tail) and the legs of the figure on each side of the horse the statue in self being cast before all for as the middle down to the thighs. by Mr. Rydbrook any first.

Oct. 1. the Equestrian Statue of H. William made Models & cast by Mr. Schemmel at Westminster. being of a composite cast metal lead pure. It is now finished to be set up at Hall in garden. this was done in conjunction with Mr. Rydbrook.

Grub Street Journal. June 1794.

Being a good admirer of fine Paintings and having heard an extraordinary character of those of Signior Amicon particularly in the Hair cases at my and Tanderette's and in Bonis house. -- in the Review of public Buildings, a tedious Criticism on both sides. of good & bad. faults & beauties --

and yet upon the whole this Master has a secret of colouring. that recommends his pictures greatly at first sight. and undoubtedly he deserves to be preferred abundantly before his Country man Verrio

(perhaps this Critic takes some work at Hampton Court to be Verrio's best interest. Eyes his mistake.

he says the best preparation for a Critic. is a good knowledge of the Pagan Mythology and of sacred & profane History. and the ancient Fables & historians in order to qualify any person to be a judge of Painting before they pretend to criticize upon the works of celebrated Painters: which will secure them from mistaking the seasons for the morning and Holofernes and Judith either for David & abigai. or for antony and Cleopatra.

and 1794 Mr. Mervine painter who taught the Princess to draw & paint. in Conversation is a Vander-Meyn story of the Princess of Orange painting her picture. the Prince Royal. told him the particulars that when the Prince of Orange was sitting for his picture Vander-Meyn took the opportunity of showing the princess of Orange a picture of her own (begin not finally) and as he said down to her by his son. which submitted to her brightness.

judgement and correction. that if she pleased to touch it with the pencil in any manner. he should take it as a questionnaire down to his Art & to his family (the princess not having at all days Mervine's down from the life) did not know what to do in this affair the Man was importunate & pressing for the honour. she took the pencil in her hand & touched, as she says (and so colours in it) for said if it be such an honour as you think, you may say then I have touched it with the pencil, tho' it be never the better for it.

Mr. Mervine further says that as so time the Princess never drew or painted any piece without her being witness as any drew from the life at any time. tho' she has drawn & copied many several copies in oil painting done by her. that whilst she lately was in Holland of lesson she first began to draw; the picture (from the life) one of her waiting maids Mrs. Mervine is told

GEORGE VERTUE'S NOTE-BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF ART IN ENGLAND

INTRODUCTION, AND PROPOSALS OF A SCHEME FOR THEIR PUBLICATION, BY
LIONEL CUST, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND A LIST OF THE MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, BY ARTHUR M. HIND.

ON July 24, 1756, died George Vertue, engraver and antiquary, and was buried in the cloister of Westminster Abbey. He had been for nearly forty years a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and official engraver to the Society. At his death he left a collection of prints, drawings, coins, &c., which was sold by auction in May 1757, and many volumes of manuscript notes, catalogues, &c., relating to the history of the Fine Arts in England. About forty of these volumes were purchased from his widow, Margaret, in the summer of 1758 by Horace Walpole, who at once set to work to 'digest and complete' the work which Vertue had contemplated and indeed actually begun himself. These precious manuscripts could not, at that date, have fallen into better hands. In the Short Notes of his Life, drawn up by Horace Walpole himself, occur the following entries :

1759. Sept. 1. I began to look over Mr. Vertue's MSS., which I bought last year for one hundred pounds, in order to compose the Lives of English Painters.
1760. Jan. 1. I began the Lives of English Artists, from Vertue's MSS. (that is *Anecdotes of Painting*, etc.).
- Aug. 14. Finished the first volume of my *Anecdotes of Painting in England*.
- Sept. 5. Began the second volume.
- Oct. 23. Finished the second volume.
1761. Jan. 4. Began the third volume.
- June 29. Resumed the third volume of my *Anecdotes of Painting* which I had laid aside after the first day.
- Aug. 22. Finished the third volume of my *Anecdotes of Painting*.
1762. Aug. 2. Began the *Catalogue of Engravers*.
- Oct. 10. Finished it.

The fourth volume of the *Anecdotes of Painting* was not completed until 1770.

The whole work was printed and published by Horace Walpole at his private press at Strawberry Hill, the first two volumes in 1762, the third and the *Catalogue of Engravers* in 1763, and the fourth in 1771, though this last volume does not seem to have been issued before 1780, owing to the criticisms which it contained on artists who were still living at the time of its completion.

The whole work was issued in five quarto volumes, with plates, the

Catalogue of Engravers forming the fifth volume. By this publication Horace Walpole laid the foundations for an historical study of the Fine Arts in England, which to this day has proved the chief authority for reference upon this subject. Subsequent editions have added much to Walpole's own work, but taken away nothing from its original value. For this reason the name of Horace Walpole has been selected, as that of the eponymous hero to whose memory all the work of the Walpole Society should be appropriately dedicated. It may be alleged that this honour should more justly have been awarded to George Vertue himself, but an examination of the actual manuscripts themselves will justify in full the extraordinary importance of the work achieved by Horace Walpole. The nature of this work may best be described in Walpole's own words :

'Mr. Vertue had for several years been collecting materials for this work : he conversed and corresponded with most of the virtuosi in England ; he was personally acquainted with the oldest performers in the science ; he minuted down everything he heard from them. He visited every collection, made catalogues of them, attended sales, copied every paper he could find relative to the art, searched offices, registers of parishes and registers of wills for births and deaths, turned over all our own authors, and translated those of other countries which related to his subject. He wrote down everything he heard, saw, or read. His collections amounted to near forty volumes, large and small. In one of his pocket-books I found a note of his first intention of compiling such a work ; it was in 1713 ; he continued it assiduously to his death in 1756. These MSS. I bought of his widow after his decease ; and it will perhaps surprise the reader to find how near a complete work is offered to him, though the research was commenced at so late a period ; I call it commenced ; what little had been done before on this subject was so far from assistance, it was scarce of use. The sketch called 'An Essay towards an English School', at the end of the translation of Depiles, is as superficial as possible ; nor could a fact scarce be borrowed from it till we come to very modern times. In general I have been scrupulous in acknowledging both Mr. Vertue's debts and my own. The catalogues of the works of Hollar and Simon, and those of the collection of King Charles I, King James II, and the Duke of Buckingham, were part of Mr. Vertue's original plan, which is now completed by these volumes.

The compiler had made several draughts of a beginning, and several lives he had written out, but with no order, no connexion, no accuracy ; nor was his style clear or correct enough to be offered to the reader in that unpolished form. I have been obliged to compose anew every article, and have recurred to the original fountains from whence he drew his information, I mean where it was taken from books. The indigested method of his collections, registered occasionally as he learned every circumstance, was an additional trouble, as I was forced to turn over every volume many and many times, as they lay in confusion, to collect the articles I wanted ; and for the second and third parts containing between three and four hundred names, I was reduced to compose an index myself to the forty volumes.

One satisfaction the reader will have in the integrity of Mr. Vertue : it exceeded his industry, which is saying much. No man living, so bigoted to a vocation, was ever so incapable of falsehood. He did not deal even in hypothesis, scarce in conjecture. He visited and revisited every picture, every monument, that was an object of his researches ; and being so little a slave to his own imagination, he was cautious of trusting to that of others. In his memorandums he always puts a quere against whatever was told him of

suspicious aspect; and never gave credit to it till he received the fullest satisfaction. Thus whatever trifles the reader finds, he will have the comfort of knowing that the greatest part at least are of most genuine authority. Whenever I have added to the compiler's stores, I have generally taken care to quote as religiously the source of my intelligence. Here and there I have tried to enliven the dryness of the subject by inserting facts not wholly foreign to it. Yet upon the whole, I despair of its affording much entertainment. The public have a title to whatever was designed for them; I offer this to them as a debt—nobody will suspect that I should have chosen such a subject for fame.'

In spite of Horace Walpole's depreciation of his own work, it is to the *Anecdotes of Painting* and to his *Letters* that he owes his immortality and his literary fame. Who, except for antiquarian purposes, could read *The Castle of Otranto* or *The Mysterious Mother*? Scant attention is paid to works of some real value printed at Strawberry Hill, *A Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England*, *Historic Doubts on Richard III*, and the *Memoirs of the Reigns of George II and George III*. These works would ensure an author some share of literary fame, but posterity speaking or thinking of Horace Walpole usually alludes to the *Letters* or the *Anecdotes of Painting*.

As it is with the *Anecdotes of Painting* that the Walpole Society is mainly concerned, it is worth while to examine and gauge the value of Walpole's work. Fortunately this can be done, as the original manuscript books of Vertue are in the possession of the nation. After Walpole's death, nearly all these manuscripts were purchased at the Strawberry Hill sale by the bookseller Thorpe, and the majority were subsequently purchased by that excellent antiquary and collector, Mr. Dawson Turner, after whose death they were purchased for the British Museum at the sale in June 1859.

It is only by a study of the original manuscripts that any real idea can be formed of the remarkable achievement by Walpole in digesting and rearranging the scattered notes of Vertue into the coherent and lucid form in which they appear in the *Anecdotes of Painting*. It must be added, however, that such a study of the original manuscripts reveals not only the merit of what Walpole did achieve, but the great amount of valuable material of which he made no use at all, or in a very perfunctory manner.

We have Walpole's own statement that the first volume of the original quarto edition of the *Anecdotes* was begun and finished in little over six months, the second in seven weeks, the third, with a broken period of work, in a little over six months, and the *Catalogue of Engravers* in a little over two months, and these four volumes printed and issued from the private press at Strawberry Hill within three years from first setting pen to paper—our breath is fairly taken away. The first suggestion would be that Horace Walpole, as a mere amateur and dilettante, would have not been above employing some impecunious antiquary or literary hack to do this intricate piece of work, and merely put his name to the whole, as editor and patron. There is, however, no evidence at all,

that Walpole received any assistance, except by letter from such antiquarian correspondents as the Rev. William Cole or Dr. Zouch. On October 14, 1760, nine days before the completion of the second volume, he writes to George Montagu :

'Last Friday morning, I was very tranquilly writing my *Anecdotes of Painting*—I heard the bell at the gate ring—I called out, as usual, "Not at home"; but Harry, who thought it would be treason to tell a lie, when he saw red liveries, owned I was, and came running up: "Sir, the Prince of Wales is at the door, and says he is come on purpose to make you a visit!" There was I, in the utmost confusion, undressed, in my slippers, with my hair about my ears; there was no help, *insanum vatem aspiciet*, and down I went to receive him. Him was the Duke of York. Behold my breeding of the old Court; at the foot of the stairs I kneeled down, and kissed his hand. . . . He stayed two hours. . . .'

As the result of this royal visit, Walpole felt it his duty to go to London and kiss the king's hand, but was saved this trouble by the king's sudden death on October 25, two days after Walpole, in spite of such interruptions, had managed to complete the second volume of the *Anecdotes*. Walpole was no dry-as-dust antiquary, and, even if he dressed to suit the part, only an *insanus vates* could have completed a volume of the *Anecdotes* in seven weeks!

It is an examination of the original manuscripts which affords the most trustworthy test of Walpole's work. Through the kind assistance of Mr. Arthur M. Hind, Assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, a short descriptive list of these manuscripts is here given to the members of the Walpole Society. Of the volumes of manuscript which Walpole possessed, thirty-eight were included in the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842—nine octavo, fourteen quarto, fifteen folio, of which one octavo volume, relating to British engravers, was not forthcoming at the sale. The remaining thirty-seven were purchased, as stated, by Thorpe, and thirty-one of these were purchased by Dawson Turner, and after his death by the British Museum. Other volumes of manuscript notes by Vertue were also acquired by the British Museum; a few, which appeared in Thorpe's catalogue, have not as yet been traced. One volume in the British Museum contains Vertue's own index to his manuscript collections, referring to forty volumes of manuscript notes, including thirty of those actually in the British Museum, and one portfolio of prints.

It will be seen from Mr. Hind's list that Vertue's notes and memoranda related to the royal collections, for the history of which they are invaluable, and to those of the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Peter Lely, and others; to his tours and visits in different parts of England, with notes on pictures in private houses, antiquities, &c.; to his collection of materials for a history of Engraving in England; and to his general collections for a history of Painting in England. The commonplace books, containing the last-named collections, are those of primary interest to the Walpole Society, being those on which Walpole based

his *Anecdotes of Painting*. They are contained in seven volumes, Add. MSS. 21111 and 23068–23074, of which Add. MS. 23068 is a corrected transcript by Vertue himself of Add. MS. 21111.

It has been thought advisable to give some facsimile reproductions of the original manuscripts, in order to explain at sight the methods employed by Vertue in making his notes in his commonplace books. Taking the first page of Add. MS. 21111, written in 1713, it will be seen at once how casual and detached those memoranda are, and how in most cases Vertue gives the name of the individual from whom he derived the information. At this date Van Dyck had only been dead seventy-two years, and Vertue knew and spoke with artists who had themselves, or whose fathers had, known and worked under that great painter. Sir Peter Lely had only been dead four years when Vertue was born. Sir Godfrey Kneller was alive in 1713, and was one of Vertue's first patrons. Hogarth was only sixteen years of age. It is obvious that, except for matters earlier than the seventeenth century, Vertue was able to get at information in most cases at first hand. The importance, therefore, of knowing exactly from whom Vertue obtained his information can readily be perceived. This was a point which Walpole to some extent neglected, while reducing Vertue's scattered notes to a connected literary form. In the case of Van Dyck, for instance, a statement is invested with greater authority when it is known that it originated with Mr. Remée, or Remy, otherwise Remigius Van Leemput, who had been a pupil and assistant to Van Dyck, and only died five years before Vertue was born; or had been told to Vertue by Antony Russel, whose grandfather, Nicasius Russel, or Roussell, the king's jeweller, had been the friend and neighbour of Van Dyck, and had attended that painter's funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral, while Antony's father, Theodore, had been assistant not only to Van Dyck, but to his own uncle, Cornelius Johnson, the portrait-painter.

As an instance of the methods both of Vertue and of Walpole, an example may be taken at random from the notes in 1713. Vertue writes of John Greenhill, who died in 1676, aged 27:

'Mr. Greenhill painter a Disciple to Sir Peter Lilly was a very forward Ingenius young man that at the age of 20 or 21 he made a copy after Van Dyke of Mr. Killegrews picture with the dog so near resembling the original that it was very hard even for the most discerning Judges of Vandyks works to know which was the Original. He was very industrious being at his Study early and late in so much that Sir P. Lilly grew jealous of him—at lenght falling into company with some famous players in that time they so debauched him from his study that he went as far backwards—coming home late one night from the Vine Tavern he fell in to a Kennel in Long Acre, being drunk was carried home and died in his bed in the night at Parry Waltons in Lincolns' Fields where he livd.'

Walpole, combining this anecdote with other notes, writes:

'John Greenhill, the most promising of Lely's scholars, was born at Salisbury, of a good family, and at twenty copied Vandyck's picture of Killigrew with the dog so well, that

it was mistaken for the original. The print of Sir William Davenant, with his nose flattened, is taken from a painting by Greenhill. His heads in crayons are much admired, and that he sometimes engraved, appears from a print of his brother Henry, a merchant of Salisbury, done by him in 1667; it has a long inscription in Latin. At first he was very laborious, but becoming acquainted with the players, he fell into a debauched course of life, and coming home late one night from the Vine tavern, he tumbled into a kennel in Long Acre, and being carried to Parrey Walton's, the painter in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he lodged, died in his bed that night in the flower of his age. He was buried at St. Giles's; and Mrs. Behn, who admired his person and turn to poetry, wrote an elegy on his death.

Graham tells a silly story of Lely's being jealous of him, and refusing to let Greenhill see him paint, till the scholar procured his master to draw his wife's picture, and stood behind him while he drew it. The improbability of this tale is heightened by an anecdote, which Walton told Vertue; or if true, Sir Peter's generosity appears the greater, he settling £40 a year on Greenhill's widow, who was left with several children, and in great indigence. She was a very handsome woman; but did not long enjoy that bounty, dying mad a short time after her husband.

This notice of Greenhill is a good instance of Walpole's skill in piecing Vertue's detached notes into a biographical statement. Vertue's original note, however, gives a much livelier note, and casts some doubt upon Walpole's editing. It will be seen that Walpole introduces his own doubt as to Lely being jealous of his pupil, whereas, as Walpole notes himself, Vertue's information was derived from the son of Parry Walton, in whose house Greenhill lived and died. Again, Walpole, by the alteration of a phrase, casts aspersions upon the morals of the stage generally, whereas Vertue wrote only of 'some famous players', not of 'the players'.

It is hardly a disparagement of Walpole's work to point out, that any conscientious biographer must consult the original statements by Vertue, before accepting Walpole's editing as a correct transcript from Vertue's notes, or of separating therein Walpole's own remarks from those made by Vertue. Generally speaking, Walpole's transcript in its rearranged form is so trustworthy that, so far as it goes, it may be accepted as equally good authority with Vertue himself. The omissions are, however, important and noteworthy. Take the case of Greenhill, as above. In the same volume for 1713 Vertue notes:

'An old head of Sr Peter Guy painted by Greenhill & very well done. Mr. Blow a Relation to Mr. Greenhill has his Picture painted by himself in a wig & that Picture of His Wife painted by Sir Peter Lilly & many drawings & other pictures of Greenhill. Mr. Blow livd at Chelsey in Paradise Row.'

This interesting piece of information is not given by Walpole. Again, in the same volume, Vertue notes:

'Mr. English Painter at Mortlack died about 1718 he had a Picture of Mr. Cleyn and his wife and many more of the Dutch tapestry works these pictures & his goods were left to Mr. Crawley at Hempsted in Hartfordshire.'

'Mr. Meyn in Spring Garden: to him was left the Cartoons painted by F. Cleyn after Raphael & sold to him for . . . pounds, by him mended & sold to a painter lately dead who ask'd a hundred pounds for them. (Culveniar).'

These two entries, so valuable for any one wishing to trace the history of the tapestry works at Mortlake, are both ignored by Walpole.

Taking these entries as good specimens of the information as given by Vertue, and edited by Walpole, it will be at once evident of the importance to students and historians of obtaining a printed transcript of Vertue's own commonplace books in his original words. It is a matter of national interest, and one which must commend itself to every member of the Walpole Society. Unfortunately the task is one which, on the ground of expense, the Walpole Society, as at present constituted, could never hope to perform. There would be various ways of publishing the manuscripts. They might be carefully transcribed by a competent copyist, and then printed from this copy. A glance at the facsimile pages here given will show how much of the originality of Vertue's own work would be lost in such a transcript, for it would be difficult to make clear what were Vertue's own actual corrections or additions to the original notes. Photography has, however, reached such a pitch of excellence that it can be employed for the actual reproduction of complete manuscripts, and in some ways this can be done with less expense than those of manual transcription and subsequent printing.

Taking, for instance, Add. MS. 23076, which consists of 102 pages of text, the actual cost of reproduction by photo-lithographic process can be estimated, and would work out approximately, at about £204 for 500 copies—this, of course, not including binding. The average cost for the reproduction and printing of 500 copies of the folio or large quarto size would be £2 per page. Should the manuscript be translated into print, this would necessitate either a transcript by a skilled copyist, or a reproduction by the rotograph process, from which the contents could be set up in type. In this case the services of an editor would be required, and a commentary with notes would become almost necessary. The whole cost would be difficult to estimate beforehand.

In either case the value of the publication would be increased by a complete index to the whole series being published, including such volumes of manuscript as may not be considered worth the expense of reproducing or printing as a whole.

It would be impossible for the Walpole Society, as at present constituted, to issue such a work within the limits of its ordinary Annual Publications, except by extending it over a period of years, to which no limit could be placed. The way most likely to lead to a satisfactory result, perhaps the only real way of getting the work done, would be the raising of a special fund in the name of the Walpole Society for the publication of such portions of the Vertue manuscripts which may be considered as of sufficient importance to justify the expense. The work, when published, might be sold or distributed, as the subscribers to such a special fund might desire or recommend to the Walpole Society. It

may be asserted with confidence that any student or antiquary consulting these manuscripts will be astonished at the wealth of material which remains, still for the greater part of it unknown. By such a publication, which would be one of real national interest, justice could be done to Vertue as the original compiler, and to Horace Walpole, who first made known the historical value of Vertue's collections.

THE VERTUE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

NOTES BY ARTHUR M. HIND, AND A LIST EXTRACTED FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM CATALOGUES OF MANUSCRIPTS, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES.

ABOUT forty volumes in the British Museum may be regarded as the Vertue manuscripts, partly autograph, and partly manuscripts by other hands, possessed, or used and annotated by Vertue. We give a list of forty-four, but three or four of these, as will be seen from the descriptions, are somewhat loosely designated Vertue manuscripts. The majority of Vertue's manuscripts were purchased from the engraver's widow in 1758 by Horace Walpole, and contain his book-plate. One of the volumes (B. M. Add. 23097) contains Vertue's own index to his manuscript collections, dating about 1752, a list which includes forty volumes of manuscripts and one portfolio of prints. Of the forty-four British Museum volumes described, thirty occur in Vertue's Index. In the Strawberry Hill sale catalogue (1842, June 13 and following days, lot 1110), thirty-eight Vertue manuscripts are cited (nine 8vo, Nos. 1-9; fourteen 4to, Nos. 1-3; fifteen folio, Nos. 1-14, and No. 15 added in manuscript). According to a manuscript note in a Museum copy of the catalogue, 8vo No. 1 was missing at the sale. It was apparently the earliest of Vertue's memorandum books, and is described as 'An oblong memorandum book, in which the first entry is dated October 10, 1712; the entries throughout relate to engravers that have practised the art in Great Britain, within the years 1580, 1712, and with brief entries of lists of their works, more especially of such as portraits.' I have not been able to find any trace of its present existence. One other volume cited in the Strawberry Hill sale catalogue (4to, No. 5, Thorpe 564) I have been unable to identify. For its description see the following page, under Thorpe, No. 564.

Thorpe, the bookseller, purchased the thirty-seven volumes at the Strawberry Hill sale, and gave a separate description of a considerable number of the volumes in his catalogue of 1842-3. The Thorpe numbers we cite are from this catalogue: his entries in later catalogues are not so complete. The majority (thirty-one volumes) were purchased by Dawson Turner, and at his

sale in 1859 (June 6-10, Lot 517; no separate description of volumes) were acquired for the British Museum. The Museum had also acquired a few volumes which had been sold separately by Thorpe. The Dawson Turner Catalogue states that 'a *résumé* by Miss M. A. Turner of the contents of all the volumes will be found at the beginning of each'.

Of the volumes catalogued by Thorpe, the following do not appear to be in the British Museum:

No. 530 [probably = Vertue's A. 1], described as 'another interesting volume of manuscript collections in Vertue's autograph. 8°, *vellum* [referring to cover], 1721, etc.' (The description that follows shows that the volume commences with a notice of portraits of Gower and Shakespeare.)

No. 533 [probably = Vertue's A. p]. 'Another interesting manuscript collection. 8°, *vellum*. 1724, etc.' (The description states that it commences with a journey to Wimpole.)

No. 564 [= Strawberry Hill Catalogue, 1110, 4° No. 5]. 'Catalogue of Sir Rob^t Walpole's collection of pictures, etc., at Houghton Hall, in Downing St, and Grosvenor Square . . . taken 1736, with addition of pictures purchased since that date. Royal 8°.'

Other volumes not in the Museum may most conveniently be referred to under the letters of Vertue's own Index. We give this below, with corresponding references in the Strawberry Hill and Thorpe catalogues, and indication of locality of volumes known to us in other collections. It may help to the identification of some of the eight volumes to which I am unable to refer. The Portfolio of prints (B. 6) was no doubt dispersed.

VERTUE'S OWN INDEX TO HIS MANUSCRIPT VOLUMES

(In B.M. Add. 23097)

Includes thirty-nine volumes (of which eight are not identified), and one portfolio of prints. Thirty of the volumes are in the British Museum, one in the Edinburgh University Library.

<i>Vertue.</i>	<i>B. M.</i>	<i>Strawberry Hill, 1842, Lot 1110.</i>	<i>Thorpe, 1842.</i>	<i>Remarks, chiefly on unidentified volumes.</i>
A. j	21111	Folio, No. 4	528	Described by Vertue as 'Catalogue of King Charles I's pictures, statues, and medals, and other Catalogues'. Cf. Harl. 7352 and Thorpe 524.
A. b	23069	Folio, No. 1	524	
A. c	23075	Folio, No. 2	524	
A. d	—	—	—	
A. e	—	—	—	Described by Vertue as 'a translation of A. Bosse, Art of Graving, with additions'.
A. f	23076	Folio, No. 7	531	
A. g	23070	Folio, No. 3	524	

130 VERTUE'S NOTE-BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

<i>Vertue.</i>	<i>B. M.</i>	<i>Strawberry Hill, 1842, Lot 1110.</i>	<i>Thorpe, 1842.</i>	<i>Remarks, chiefly on unidentified volumes.</i>
A. h	—	—	—	Described by Vertue as a 'short catalogue of King Charles I's Pictures'. Cf. King's 391, but there is no indication of Vertue's reference-lettering in the volume.
A. i	23081	4°, No. 1	532	
A. l	—	8°, No. 3	530	Described by Vertue as 'Pocket book, short memoranda, 1721-24'.
A. m	—	—	—	Described by Vertue as a 'Catalogue of English Heads, Prints, by whom engraved. Begun to collect 1700'.
A. n	23082	4°, No. 1	541	
A. o	23083	4°, No. 1	534	
A. p	—	8°, No. 4	533	Described by Vertue as a 'Pocket book, 1724-1729'.
A. q	23071	—	524	
A. r	23084	4°, No. 1	543	
A. s	23077	Folio, No. 6	536	
A. t (= B. 7)	—	—	—	Described by Vertue as 'Alphabet of Painted portraits; where they are'.
A. v	23078	Folio, No. 8	527	
A. w	22042	8°, No. 5	535	
A. x	23072	Folio, No. 9	524	
A. y	23092	8°, No. 6	537	
A. yy	23073	Folio, No. 10	524	
A. z	23093	8°, No. 7	538	
B. 1	23085	4°, No. 2 (1)	539	
B. 2	23086	4°, No. 2 (2)	525	
B. 3	23087	4°, No. 2 (3)	540	
B. 4	23079	Folio, No. 11	524	
B. 5	23088	4°, No. 2 (4)	542	
B. 6	—	—	—	Described by Vertue as a 'Portfolio containing loose drawings, heads of artists, painters, sculptors, etc., in England, collected, and all prints done relating to this work'.
B. 7 (= A. t)	—	—	—	See under A. t.
B. 8	23080	Folio, No. 12	—	
B. 9	—	—	231	Described by Vertue as 'Manuscript on the art of Limning writ by N. Hillyard'. It is the MS. now in Edinburgh University Library, published in the first volume of the <i>Walpole Society</i> .
B. x	23094	8°, No. 8	544	
C. 1	—	—	—	Described by Vertue as 'Memoranda begin. 1741'.
D. 1	23089	4°, No. 3 (1)	545	
E. 1	23090	4°, No. 3 (2)	547	
E. 2	23095	8°, No. 2	529	
E. 2*	23096	8°, No. 9	546	
E. 3	18914	Folio, No. 13	526	
E. 4	23091	4°, No. 3 (3)	548	

Most of the volumes in the British Museum have an index of matter at the beginning made by Vertue himself. Those from the Dawson Turner collection have a *résumé* by Miss M. A. Turner (as stated in the sale catalogue of this collection) inserted at the head of each volume. The only general index made by Vertue is that of the Portraits (Add. 23097). Horace Walpole added an Index of Engravers (Add. 23098). Vertue occasionally used folio numbers (e. g. in Add. 23077), but in general he numbers each page. The British Museum has added folio numbers, according to its custom, throughout the volumes, and these are used for reference in our list. The descriptions below are to a large extent quoted from the B. M. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts*, and some further notes relative to the contents of the volumes are added.

The volumes most worth publishing entire are perhaps the following :

Add. 21111	Add. 23076
23069	23078
23070	23079
23074	23083
23075	23084

Even if a facsimile of a large part of the Vertue manuscripts is contemplated, they would only be made thoroughly useful for reference if an accurate index of the whole series is compiled. This index could not, of course, be published in parts—subscribers would need to wait until it was completed. But it should certainly be taken in hand from the beginning, and published at the earliest possible date.

LIST OF THE VERTUE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

(In order of their acquisition)

Harley 4718.

Catalogue of the Pictures of Charles I. Corresponding with pp. 1-171 (No. 21) of the published 'Catalogue and Description of King Charles the First's Capital Collection . . . now first published from an original manuscript in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The whole transcribed and prepared for the Press . . . by the late . . . Mr. Vertue, and now finished from his Papers.' London (Printed for W. Bathoe), 1757.

This may be Vertue's own transcript from the Ashmolean MS., but it is written in a larger hand than he generally used.

85 folios. Folio. Acquired 1753.

Harley 7352.

Inventory of the Goods of Charles I, sold 1649. Another copy of this inventory, with some additional matter, is Harl. 4898. At the beginning of the present volume is a letter to Lord Oxford from Vice-Chamberlain Cooke (as stated on the back in the hand of George Vertue). Cf. Vertue, A. d, but it can hardly be identical. Cf. also Thorpe 524.

159 folios. Folio. Acquired 1753.

Lansdowne 1050.

(a) Catalogue of the Pictures of Charles I.

Folios 3-81 correspond to Harl. 4718, and it might be a fair copy after Vertue, made by another hand for the printers.

(b) A List of his Majestie's Pictures as they are now placed in Kensington House, 1700. A copy in the same hand as (a) after Harl. 5150.

86 folios. Folio. Acquired 1807.

King's 391.

A Catalogue or Table of the Pictures or paintings of the several masters that were in the Collection of King Charles 1st. A^{no} 1639. 18 folios in Vertue's hand. Folio. Synopsis of material contained in the Ashmolean MS., transcribed by Vertue (see our next entry), and in the Inventory of 1649.

This volume might be Vertue, A. h, but there is no indication of Vertue's reference lettering attached.

Acquired 1823.

Add. 15752.

Catalogue of King James the Second's Collection of pictures, busts, etc., at Whitehall, Windsor Castle, Hampton Court, etc., in 1687; taken from an original manuscript in the Earl of Oxford's Library [Harl. MS. 1890, f. 45]; with notes and corrections by George Vertue and Horace Walpole, f. 1; A catalogue of the pictures, drawings, limnings, enamels, models in wax and ivory, carvings, etc., at Kensington, in the Queen's Closet next to the Bedchamber, described by G[eorge] V[ertue], 1745, f. 34;—Plans of all the pictures, drawings, limnings, enamels, etc., in the Queen's Closet near to the Statè Bedchamber, at Kensington, [by George Vertue, 1743] b. 39. Folio.

43 folios. Purchased at Thane's sale, Sotheby's, 3 April, 1846, lot 738.

This was published in 'A Catalogue of the collection of Pictures, etc., belonging to King James the second; to which is added a Catalogue of the Pictures & drawings in the closet of the late Queen Caroline'. London, 1758. The editor states that he purchased the manuscripts at Vertue's sale.

Add. 17915.

Catalogue of the collection of pictures & models of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham. xviith cent. Folio.

18 folios. Purchased of H. Rodd, 8 Dec. 1849 (Brockley Hall sale, lot 1469).

The catalogue is in French. There is a short introductory note in English by Vertue.

The catalogue was published in English in 'A catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, etc.' London, 1758.

Add. 18914. Vertue, E. 3—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 13—Thorpe 526.

Inventory of 'hangings of arras, tapestry, and other hangings, plate, jewels, aggats, pictures, household stuff, goods, chattells, rings, and other things,' assigned to George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, by an indenture between Viscount Dunluce, son of the Earl of Antrim, and his wife, Catherine Duchess of Buckingham, on the one part, and the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Robert Pye on the other part; 11 May, 1635. Copied by George Vertue. Formerly belonging to Horace Walpole. Folio.

15 folios. Purchased at Thorpe's sale at Sotheby's, 19 March, 1852, lot 226.

Add. 19027. Probably = Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 4.

Miscellaneous Papers of George Vertue, the engraver. Amongst them the following, viz.: 'A description of the tapestries bought at Rotterdam (for Frederick Prince of Wales) in 1749,' f. 1;—Note of paintings in Windsor Castle, made from memory by the Prince of Wales; 26 Sept. 1750, f. 5;—'List of Pictures of Charles I that are still in the Royal Collection,' 1750, f. 7;—List of Paintings at Kensington, in the Closet, f. 12;—List of Engravings of historical portraits; 1750, f. 16;—List of the Prince's Collection of Paintings; 1750, f. 20;—Notes from — Schrader [Secretary to the Prince] to Vertue [1751], f. 27;—Notes by Horace Walpole respecting some of the Royal pictures, f. 34; Notes of pictures and painters, f. 35;—Notice of Samuel Cooper, limner; and life of Will. Faithorne, f. 44;—Notes on the engraved portraits of Sir Walter Raleigh, f. 52;—Notes of a map of the world dated 1480, and of a map of Sebastian Cabot's discovery of a part of the West Indies, f. 65;—List of members of the Society of Antiquaries agreeing to dine together [1744], with their autographs, f. 82 b.

82 folios. Folio. Purchased of Mr. Geo. Hillier, 9 November, 1852 (from Sale at Puttick's, 30 Oct., lot 212).

All that remains of the fly-leaf is a small piece of paper with 'Miscel. Papers of Vertue' in old manuscript mounted at the beginning of the volume. There is no trace of a letter corresponding to Vertue's Index-letters of reference.

Add. 2111. Vertue, A. j—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 4—Thorpe 528.

Collections of George Vertue, containing notes relating to artists and their works, made between 1713-21. At the beginning is inserted his portrait in pencil, slightly tinted, by his own hand. sm. 4^{to}.

Contains notes on the life or works of the following artists among many others: Kneller, Lairese, Routiers, Hollar, Schalcken, Houbraken, Dahl, Rembrandt, Lely, Holbein, Verelst, Isaac Oliver, Inigo Jones, Francis Cleyne, Cornelis Janssens (Johnson).

The portrait and Vertue's page 1 are reproduced with the present article.

For a copy with corrections by Vertue, see Add. 23068.

Autograph. 63 folios. Acquired 1855.

Add. 22042. Vertue, A. w—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 8°. No. 5—Thorpe 535.

Memorandum book of George Vertue, containing various notes on antiquarian subjects facsimiles of signatures, plans, etc.; 1730-34. Duodecimo.

Contains architectural and antiquarian notes on country houses, e. g. Canons, Cowdray, Wilton, Easton-Neston, Althorp, Wimpole.

Includes a portrait sketch of the Earl of Pembroke in 'the manner of habit as I saw him', with Walpole's note at foot, 'This is very exact & like him. H. W.'

Autograph. 39 folios. Acquired 1857.

Add. 23068.

A copy of Add. 21111, with corrections by Vertue. 54 folios. Folio. This and the following thirty volumes were acquired at the Dawson Turner sale in 1859.

Add. 23069. Vertue, A. b—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 1—Thorpe 524.

Memoranda on the arts of Painting and Sculpture, &c., 1721-25. Contains notes on the life or works of the following among many others: Nicholas Stone, D. Loggan, Grinling Gibbons, Jodocus Hondius, Sir Christopher Wren, Lely, Thornhill, Holbein, Isaac Fuller, Van Dyck; also notes on collections, e. g. those of Charles I, the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Montagu, and Lambeth Palace. Autograph. 64 folios. Folio.

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Add. 23070. Vertue, A. g—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 3—Thorpe 524.

Contains much material about collections, e. g. Penshurst, Petworth, Ditchley, Gorham-bury, Wentworth Woodhouse, Cowdray, Woburn, Hampton Court, Kensington Palace. Also includes an autobiography of George Vertue, 1709-41 (ff. 81-93), (for other autobiographical material, cf. Add. 23091, f. 65, and Add. 23095). Autograph. 93 folios. Folio.

Add. 23071. Vertue, A. q—Thorpe 524.

Date, 1731-36. Autograph. 81 folios. Folio.

Contains a large amount of miscellaneous material about pictures, artists (e. g. De Critz, F. Cleyne, D. Mytens, Lely, N. Hilliard), and collections (e. g. Cowdray, Wimpole).

Add. 23072. Vertue, A. x—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 9—Thorpe 524.

Dated 1736 on the fly-leaf. Autograph. 78 folios. Folio.

Miscellaneous notes on artists, pictures, prints, medals, collections, &c. Among the collections noted are those of Lord Cholmondeley, Duke of Somerset, Secretary Pepys, Earl of Leicester, Lord North, and Eton College library.

Add. 23073. Vertue, A. yy—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 10—Thorpe 524.

Dated 1742 on the fly-leaf. Autograph. 66 folios. Folio.

Miscellaneous notes on pictures, church monuments, biographical anecdotes, extracts from books on art, &c.

Add. 23074.

Date, 1749-54. Autograph. 18 folios. Folio.

This volume is written with more care than most of the others, as if almost ready for the press. Contains biographical and other matter on P. Monamy, Roubilliac, Hoare of Bath, Canaletto, J. Goupy, Thomas Gibson, Allan Ramsay, Sir Rob^t Strange, &c.

Also notes on the methods of engraving.

Add. 23075. Vertue, A. c—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 2—Thorpe 524.

Notes for the *Lives of English and Foreign Painters*, by George Vertue; 1720-21. Partly autograph. At f. 33 are proposals for the regulation of the Academy of Painting, Dec. 1720; and at f. 74 is a short treatise entitled 'For the improvement of the Art of Delineing in this nation'. 82 folios. Folio.

Includes a series of regular biographies, which were the chief basis for many of the biographies in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*. They are transcriptions from Vertue by some ill-educated copyist. There is also a considerable amount of Vertue's original material in less-connected biographical notes, reflections on the foundation of the Royal Academy, notes for a treatise 'For the improvement of the Art of Delineing in this Nation' (suggesting the establishment of three Schools of Design, at Oxford, Cambridge, and London), &c.

Add. 23076. Vertue, A. f—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 7—Thorpe 531.

Memoranda relating to contemporary English Painters, sculptors, engravers, etc., as well as to Foreign artists resident in England, by George Vertue; Sept. 1722—Jan. 173⁸. At the end, reversing the volume, are an 'Alphabet of Heads engraved before Nov. 1723', f. 57 b;—a fuller 'Alphabet of Heads', f. 53 b; & a chronological list of G. Vertue's engravings, beginning in 1708, f. 53 b. Autograph. 59 folios. Folio.

Vertue inserted a note to this volume, containing as it did so much contemporary detail: '1722. My desire is that this particular book of memoranda of living artists, mark

A. f, at my death be immediately tyd about with a string and seald up till the year 1772, or 50 years after my death.'

Half of Vertue's Index to this volume (f. 9) is reproduced with this article and will give a good idea of part of its contents. The volume also includes notes on Kirkall, G. White, G. Gibbons, Le Blond, Monamy, Rysbrack, Thornhill, Dahl, Closterman, Highmore, Pond, Angillis, Mercier, &c.

The 'Alphabets of Heads' at the end of the volume are lists of Vertue's own engravings.

Besides part of Vertue's Index, a reproduction is also given with this article from fol. 43, verso.

Add. 23077. Vertue, A. s—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 6—Thorpe 536.

Notes relating to English coins, and coinage, partly original and partly extracted from printed works and MSS., by George Vertue; 1739-51. Autograph. 61 folios. Folio.

Add. 23078. Vertue, A. v—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 8—Thorpe 527.

Chronological Catalogue of English and Foreign Engravers, with lists of their works, and critical notes by George Vertue. Autograph, with Indexes by George Vertue and Horace Walpole. About 1730-50. 85 folios. Folio.

This volume is the chief source of the list of engravers' works in Walpole's *Catalogue of Engravers*.

Add. 23079. Vertue, B. 4—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 11—Thorpe 524.

'Memorials of persons, arts, and living artists,' consisting chiefly of criticisms on paintings, engravings, and drawings, and biographical notes and anecdotes by George Vertue; 1739-48. Autograph. 48 folios. Folio.

Includes notes on Gravelot, Jervas, Allan Ramsay, Vanloo, Vanderbank, Le Blond, John Smith (the mezzotint engraver), Thornhill, Dahl, Nollekens, Hogarth, Kent, Canaletto, &c.

Add. 23080. Vertue, B. 8—Strawberry Hill, 1110, Fol. No. 12.

'The Use of the Pensill in the most excellent art of Limning in Water-colours.' Printed, with considerable variations, as the 2nd Part of W. Sanderson's 'Graphice' (London, 1658, fol.). With notes by George Vertue. 40 folios. Folio.

This is Sanderson's original manuscript with corrections by Vertue. See the Walpole Society, Volume I (N. Hilliard's 'Arte of Limning', with introduction and notes by Philip Norman), where it is described as an imperfect transcript of Harl. 6000.

Add. 23081. Vertue, A. i—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 1—Thorpe 532.

Miscellaneous notes, extracts, catalogues of pictures, &c. by George Vertue; 1722-35. Mostly autograph. Included are:

(1) Notices of Dutch Painters, tr. from C. v. Mander's 'Schilder-boeck'. f. 8.

(2) Notes relating to Richard Symonds, of Black Notley, Essex, and his observations on pictures seen in England 1651, 1652, 1653. f. 29 b.

[See Egerton MS. 1636, f. 88 b, for original.]

(3) Observations on the Art of Engraving. f. 40 b-46 b. (for part of it, the volume is reversed).

[Describes and illustrates the various strokes of the graver and needle: discusses the accomplished methods of the Drevets.]

(4) Poem on the Art of Engraving, dedicated to George Vertue. f. 49.

(5) 'Catalogue of all the pictures in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, taken June 1722.' f. 57.

(6) 'List of Sir Peter Lely's great collection of Pictures,' sold 18 Ap., 1682. f. 74.

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[This was published in 1758 with the 'Catalogue of the Collection of . . . the Duke of Buckingham', &c.]

(7) 'Description of ye Academy which was established by ye late King of Prussia.' f. 82.

(8) 'Observations or Three Essays on the Art of Painting . . . wrote by Nahtanoi Nos-Drahcir [Jonathan Richardson] set in true light,' &c. f. 85.
98 folios. Quarto.

Add. 23082. Vertue, A. n—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 1—Thorpe 541.

'Remarks on painters,' &c., by George Vertue. Autograph. Included are:

(1) Observations upon the Art of Engraving, and the foundation of a professorship of drawing at the University. ff. 7, 46.

(2) Notes on the lives of Dutch Painters, tr. from Arnold Houbraken's 'Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen'. ff. 13, 58.

(3) Notes on the origin and progress of the 'Academy of Painting', 1711-50. f. 33 b.

(4) Notes on the life, and list of the works, of Wenceslaus Hollar. f. 48.

67 folios. Quarto.

The last section of this volume, with further notes in other volumes [Egerton 2384, Add. 21111 (fol. 15), 23070 (fol. 28), 23075 (fol. 80), and 23085 (fol. 40)], formed the basis for Vertue's published catalogue of Hollar's etchings. As this was already printed in 1745 (2nd ed. 1758), the date 'about 1751' given to the volume in the British Museum Catalogue of Additional MSS., is too late for this portion at least.

Add. 23083. Vertue, A. o—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 1—Thorpe 534.

Notes for the History of Engraving in England, by George Vertue; 1751. At f. 37 are also translated extracts from Jacob Campo Weyerman's *De Levens-Beschrijvingen der Nederlandsche Konstschilders en Konstschilderessen*. 61 folios. Quarto.

Add. 23084. Vertue, A. r—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 1—Thorpe 543.

Notes for the Lives of English and Foreign Painters, &c., by George Vertue; 1731-44. Autograph. 56 folios. Quarto. The contents are:

(1) Catalogue of the Library of George Vertue (?); Sept. 1744. ff. 6, 50.

(2) Scheme for publishing a series of Engravings of Portraits of Artists painted by themselves, in the Gallery of the Grand Duke of Florence; 14 Nov. 1738, f. 14; with a list of the same procured in 1739, f. 14. [Cf. Add. 23085 (3).]

(3) Abstract of a manuscript entitled 'Le Vite de Pittori composte da Gioseffo Ghezzi, Pittore e Segretario dell' Accademia del disegno a Roma . l'anno 1634 nacque . l'anno 1674 fu Segretario di San Luca', f. 22. [The original manuscript, without author's name, is now Harl. 6032.]

(4) Biographical notes of English and Dutch Painters, ff. 32-49. [Contains biographies of Griffier, Wissing, Verelst, Kneller, &c.]

Add. 23085. Vertue, B. 1—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 2 (1)—Thorpe 539.

Notes and extracts concerning the Fine Arts, by George Vertue, 1738-41. Mostly autograph. 96 folios. Quarto. Included are:

(1) Extracts from the Records at the Tower, relative to painting in England; 12-52 Hen. III [1227-1268]. Lat. f. 6.

(2) Statues, busts, &c., of the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton. Oct. 1738. f. 18.

(3) 'Painters' Pictures done by their own hands in the Grand Duke's Gallery' at Florence. [1739.] f. 24. [Cf. Add. 23084 (2).]

(4) Pictures of Sir Rob^t Walpole at Whitehall and Houghton; 8, 21 July, 1739. ff. 47, 51. [Cf. Add. 23087 and 23089.]

(5) Remarks upon four historical pictures; as printed in 'A Description of Nine Historical Prints . . . by George Vertue' (London, 1776). ff. 54-90.

Add. 23086. Vertue, B. 2—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 2 (2)—Thorpe 525.

Miscellaneous notes concerning antiquities, extracts from Leland, the Cecil state papers, the Bodleian Library Catalogue, and other works, description of MSS., &c., by George Vertue; 1737-41. Autograph. At f. 71 is a treatise on stone monuments, Jan. 1741^o;—and at f. 92 notes on hieroglyphics. 148 folios. Quarto.

Includes, among many other notes, Life of Sir Christopher Wren, and account of Merton Abbey.

Add. 23087. Vertue, B. 3—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 2 (3)—Thorpe 540.

Notes on Tours through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Hants, Wilts, Warwick, Gloucester, and Oxford, with a few rough sketches by George Vertue; 1739, 40. Autograph. Included also are notes on Sir Robert Walpole's pictures at Whitehall, and Mr. Bagnal's in Soho Square, ff. 16, 16 b. 37 folios. Quarto.

For Walpole's collection, cf. Add. 23085 and 23089.

For Bagnal's pictures, cf. Add. 23089.

Add. 23088. Vertue, B. 5—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 2 (4)—Thorpe 542.

Notes and extracts on miscellaneous historical and antiquarian subjects by George Vertue; *circa* 1746. Mostly autograph. Included are original letters to George Vertue from John Anstis [Garter King of Arms]; 25 Ap., 1743, f. 29— and Rev. Samuel Pegge, on Saxon coins, Goldmersham, 7 March. 1743 [4], f. 34. 112 folios. Quarto.

Add. 23089. Vertue, D. 1—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 3 (1)—Thorpe 545.

Journals of tours, notes and extracts, with a few drafts of letters, relative to antiquities and the Fine Arts, by George Vertue; 1731-47. Autograph. Included are:

(1) Accounts of Tours in Sussex and Surrey, with a few rough sketches; 1747. At f. 17 is a note by Horace Walpole.

(2) List of Prints by Giacomo Frey at Rome, with prices. f. 46.

[A copy made in 1739 from a list printed at Rome.]

(3) List of Seals engraved for Government by John Rollos; 1741. ff. 57, 58.

(4) Observations by George Vertue relating to his connexion with the publishing firm of Knaptons, and on the state of his affairs in 1747. ff. 68, 112.

(5) Notes on the Church of Great Malvern, Co. Worcester. f. 88.

(6) Notes concerning the life and works of Carlo Maratta, the painter. f. 108 b.

(7) Notes concerning the life and works of Edmund Spenser; 1731. ff. 115-134.

(8) Catalogue of the pictures of Edw. Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford; 1741, f. 176.—of William Bateman, 1st Visc. Bateman, f. 178;—of Bagnal, f. 178; and of Sir Rob^t Walpole, f. 179.

For Bagnal's collection, cf. Add. 23087. For Sir Rob^t Walpole's, cf. Add. 23085, and 23087.

183 folios. Quarto.

Add. 23090. Vertue, E. 1—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 3 (2)—Thorpe 547.

'Various collections, abstracts,' &c., relating to art, antiquities, and English History, with a few drafts of letters, by George Vertue; 1731-51. Autograph. Included are catalogues of Pictures at Tichfield, Bulstrode, and Penshurst, ff. 91, 95, 108;—and a professional diary of George Vertue, 10 Nov., 1748—29 May, 1749. f. 97. 126 folios. Quarto.

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Add. 23091. Vertue, E. 4—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 4°. No. 3 (3)—Thorpe 548.

'Various collections and extracts' relating to art, antiquities, English History, and Literature, with drafts and copies of letters, by George Vertue, 1740-52. Mostly autograph.

(1) Notes relating to the Society of Antiquaries; Feb.-Dec. 1740. ff. 13, 15.

(2) Catalogue of 'Pictures sold at the Duke of Portland's', with names of purchasers and prices. f. 54.

(3) 'Some account of George Vertue, from 1709-41.' Autograph. f. 65. [Cf. Add. 23070, f. 81.]

(4) Verses 'on the celebrated English Poets, collected, engraved, & published by Mr. Vertue'. ff. 92, 123.

(5) Notes on English Poets from Chaucer to Dryden. f. 97.

152 folios. Quarto.

Add. 23092. Vertue, A. y—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 8°. No. 6—Thorpe 537.

Dated on fly-leaf 1735/6. Autograph. 42 folios. Duodecimo.

Miscellaneous antiquarian notes, and notes on tours, &c.; e. g. tours with Lord Coleraine to see Mr. Topham's collection of Drawings; tours with the Earl of Oxford to Coventry, Birmingham, Stratford-on-Avon, Oxford, Blenheim, &c.; visits to Windsor and Hatfield.

Notes on engraving, f. 38.

Add. 23093. Vertue, A. z—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 8°. No. 7—Thorpe 538.

Miscellaneous antiquarian and biographical notes, e. g. the use of wigs, Incorporation of Barber-Surgeons, Plan for a City of London Library, Description of the Mansion House, Journals of Tours with Lord Coleraine to the Eastern Counties (visiting Houghton, &c.); with the Earl and Countess of Oxford to Gorhambury, Oxford, Bulstrode, Blenheim; notes on preparation of catalogue of Earl of Oxford's pictures, &c.

Autograph. 44 folios. Duodecimo.

Add. 23094. Vertue, B. x—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 8°. No. 8—Thorpe 544.

'Various Remarks from 1743 to 1748.' Includes:

Journals of tours to Oxford, &c.; account of the libraries of Mr. Papillon, Sir Symondes D'Ewes (added to Harleian collection), &c.; notes on Hogarth (who advertises for six engravers to work for him), on the collection of Sir Hans Sloane; account of Vertue's first interview with the Prince of Wales, 1748; extract from a letter by J. Talman from Florence, describing the collection of drawings of the Bishop of Arezzo [This is not the complete letter as published in 1758. The collection was acquired for the Library of Christ Church, Oxford.], &c.

Autograph. 48 folios. Duodecimo.

Add. 23095. Vertue, E. 2—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 8°. No. 2—Thorpe 529

Memorandum book; dated 1715-51 on the fly-leaf. Chiefly filled with directions and addresses (e. g. of coppersmiths, graver-makers, framers, printers, and collectors). At the end, the volume being reversed, are entries concerning members of the Vertue family from 1536, and autobiographical notes.

Autograph. 60 folios. Duodecimo.

For other autobiographical notes, cf. Add. 23070 and 23091.

Add. 23096. Vertue, E. 2*—Strawberry Hill, 1110, 8°. No. 9—Thorpe 546.

Memorandum book, dated 1749 on the fly-leaf. Notes on intercourse of Vertue with

Frederick Prince of Wales. Visit to the collection of Dr. Rich^d Rawlinson at London House, Aldersgate St. Miscellaneous antiquarian notes on London architecture, &c.

Autograph. 38 folios. Duodecimo.

Add. 23097.

Alphabetical list of portraits mentioned in the collections of George Vertue, preceded by a brief description of the contents of the several volumes; about 1752.

Autograph. 29 folios. Folio.

At the beginning is a list of Vertue's manuscripts, with letter or numeral references. The latest volume referred to is E. 2, dated 1748/9-1752. Contains index of portraits with references to the volumes in which they are noted.

Add. 23098.

Autograph of Horace Walpole.

Alphabetical 'Index of Engravers, extracted from George Vertue's MSS., 1761, by Horace Walpole'. 30 folios. Folio.

Egerton, 2384.

(1) Original letter from George Vertue to [? Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford], on the picture of the family of Sir Thomas More, attributed to Holbein; London, 17 Dec., 1733. With an engraving enclosed. f. 2.

(2) Notes by the same on the life and works of Wenzel Hollar, the engraver, f. 10. Hollar's life is written here in a more finished form (nearer the published account) than in Add. 23082. For other notes on Hollar see Add. 23070 (f. 28), 23075 (f. 80), 23085 (f. 40).

26 folios. Folio. Purchased of R. E. Lonsdale, 13 February, 1875.

Stowe 152.

Miscellaneous Historical papers.

Fol. 137, 'Pictures at Hampton Court & in the private apartments at Windsor Castle,' 3 pages. The Index at the beginning is in a hand resembling Vertue's.

Acquired 1883.

Stowe 567.

'Royal Pictures at Kensington, Hampton Court, Windsor, and St. James's.' This title on fly-leaf. Then second title and catalogues in French. The English title is in a hand somewhat resembling Vertue's. From the collection of Sir Thomas Astley.

79 folios. Folio. Acquired 1883.

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